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*Sir Cloudsley Shovel*



T H E

# BRITISH PLUTARCH.



THE LIFE OF

## CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL.

**T**HIS experienced seaman was born in the year 1650, of parents but in middling circumstances, who, having expectations from a relation of theirs called Cloudesley, bestowed that name upon their son, with a view of recommending him to his notice : but being disappointed in their expectations, young Cloudesley Shovel was put out apprentice to a shoemaker; and to this trade he applied himself for some years : but being of an aspiring genius, and

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finding no likelihood of raising his fortune this way, he went to sea as a cabin-boy, under Sir Christopher Mynns; when, after assiduously studying navigation, for which he had a natural turn, soon became an able seaman, and quickly arrived at preferment, especially from the recommendation of the famous Sir John Narborough, who having, by mere dint of capacity, raised himself to the highest honours of his profession, was the generous patron of those in whom he discovered any extraordinary merit.

After the conclusion of the second Dutch war, our merchants were much harassed in the Mediterranean, by the Tripolitan corsairs, notwithstanding the several treaties of peace concluded with them. As soon as the king, Charles II. in 1674, found himself at leisure, he sent a strong squadron into those parts, under Sir John Narborough, who arrived before Tripoli in the spring of that year; where, from the appearance of the enemy's strength, and the nature of his instructions, which directed him to try negotiation rather than force, he was induced to send to the dey of Tripoli, a person in whose capacity he could confide, with moderate terms of accommodation, only to desire satisfaction for what was past, and security for the future. The admiral pitched on Mr. Shovel to deliver this message, which he did with uncommon spirit: but the dey, from a contempt of his youth, treated

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treated him very disrespectfully, and at the same time dismissed him with an indefinite answer.

Mr. Shovel, on his return, acquainted Sir John with the remarks he made on shore, and was sent back again with another message, instructed with proper rules for further enquiry, and observation. The dey treated Mr. Shovel worse the second time; but he bore it patiently, and made use of it as an excuse for staying longer on shore.

When he came back, he assured the admiral, that, notwithstanding the lines and forts, it was practicable to burn the ships in the harbour. Accordingly, lieutenant Shovel, with all the boats filled with combustibles, boldly entered the port in the night of the fourth of March, 1675, and performed this service, with a degree of success which is hardly conceivable.

Not was it long before Mr. Shovel was rewarded for his behaviour; for the honourable mention made of it by Sir John, in all his letters, Mr. Shovel was, the next year, 1676, made commander of the *Saphire*, a fifth rate; and soon after removed to the *James* galley, a fourth rate; where he continued till the death of king Charles II.

Prudential reasons induced king James to employ captain Shovel, who, though he was far from being acceptable to him, had the command of the *Dover*, a fourth rate, given



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to him ; and in this situation was he at the revolution.

This event, so agreeable to the captain's own sentiments, added to his activity, being almost in every engagement during that reign, rendered him very popular ; for, in the engagement off Bautre-bay, he distinguished himself so much, by his courage and conduct, in the Edgar, a third rate, that upon king William's coming down to Portsmouth, he was pleased to confer on him the honour of knighthood : and being employed, in June, 1691, to convoy king William and his army to Ireland, his majesty was so highly pleased with his indefatigable care and conduct, that he not only appointed him rear-admiral of the blue, but also delivered him his commission with his own hands.

On the tenth of July, king William receiving intelligence that the enemy intended to send above twenty small frigates into St. George's channel, in order to burn the transports, he was ordered to cruize off Scilly, or in such station as he should think proper for preventing that design. This he accordingly did till the twenty-first of July, without meeting with any thing remarkable ; and then was joined by the Dover and Experiment, from the coast of Ireland, with a ketch which came out of Kinsale, on board of which were several officers who were following king James into France, to accompany him in his intended descent on England.

Sir

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Sir Cloudesly sailed afterwards to Kinsale, where he soon had an opportunity of demonstrating his zeal for the service. General Kirke being, with a small number of men before the strong town of Waterford, could not take it, by reason of a numerous garrison in Duncannon-castle, commanded by general Bourk: who gave out, that he would defend both the fort and the town to the last extremity, and as long as one stone remained upon another.

Sir Cloudesly rightly judging, that this bravery, in a great measure, arose from the intelligence he had, that Mr. Kirke had not a single cannon, sent the latter word, that he would assist him not only with guns, but boats and men from his squadron: which proposition being accepted by the general, the former surrendered the place before so much as one stone was beat from another.

The remainder of this year Sir Cloudesly spent mostly in cruising, till he was ordered to join Sir George Rooke's squadron; which convoyed king William from Holland, and did not return to the Downs till January following.

It was Sir Cloudesly's happiness, that, as his courage and sincerity were equally unquestionable, and his services were well intended, they generally were well received; so that, if at any time he missed of success, no body ever pretended to lay any imputations on his con-

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duct. For this reason it gave the people very great satisfaction, when the king, in the spring of that year, 1692, before his setting out for Holland, declared him rear-admiral of the red, and also commander of the squadron which was to convoy him thither.

On the admiral's return, he joined the grand fleet under admiral Russel, and had no small share in the glorious victory at la Hogue; for the French, after an engagement of some hours, breaking their line, and Tourville their admiral towing away northward, the English admiral gave the signal for chasing, when it was discovered that all the enemy retired; at the same time, several broadsides were heard to the westward, though the ships that fired were not to be seen. This proved to be the brave Sir Cloudesly, who, having weathered the admiral's own squadron, got between them and their admiral of the blue; but being on the French for some time, both Tourville and the admiral of that squadron came to an anchor, but could not see each other by reason of the thickness of the weather.

In the succeeding year, 1693, the fleet was put under the joint command of Sir Cloudesly Shovel, Killigrew, and Delaval, the two latter declared tories, and the former a determined whig; who, from a mature consideration of the orders they had received from the court, and the bad condition of the fleet at that time, might, though of political principles, diametri-

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diametrically opposite, agree in this, that a cautious execution of their instructions, was the safest method they could take; so that there was no great reason for the ludicrous picture, published at this time by the Dutch, in which the taking of the Smyrna fleet was represented at a distance, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel on board his own ship, with his hands tied behind him, each of his colleagues holding one end of the cord; as if he would have prevented this misfortune, had not Killgrew and Delaval prevented him.

But Sir Cloudesley Shovel, upon an enquiry in parliament, defended both his colleagues and himself at the bar of the house, by so clear and plain an account of the matter, that all people were satisfied the commanders were innocent in point of treachery, which had been asserted by a vote of the house of commons.

Sir Cloudesley's character, however, remaining unimpeached, we find him again, in the year 1694, employed in the Channel, and on the coast of France, as vice-admiral of the red, under the command of lord Berkley, admiral of the blue, in the expedition to Carmaret bay; of which an account has been already given; and we shall only add, that Sir Cloudesley distinguished himself by his dextrous embarkation of the forces sent on that unfortunate attempt; as also, when, on their return to England, the fleet was again sent upon the

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French coast, to bombard Dieppe and other places.

Towards the close of the season, lord Berkeley going to London, the command devolved on Sir Cloudesly; at which time, by his majesty's express command, he undertook the bombardment of Dunkirk; but this attempt proved unsuccessful by the skill of the engineer: and, to shew that no blame could be laid on him, he went with a boat within the enemy's works; where he was an eye-witness of the impossibility of executing his orders: for which reason, on his return home, he was perfectly well received, and continued to be employed. He bore his share in the remaining part of the war, and, after the conclusion of the peace of Ryswick in 1695, was always consulted by his majesty in all maritime affairs.

In the beginning of the queen's reign, he seems not to have been much in favour, and therefore, though admiral of the white, was not employed in any thing of importance, till, in 1702, he was sent to Vigo after Sir George Rooke had taken that place, in order to convoy home the spoils of the Spanish and French fleets.

Here he performed every thing with his usual zeal and diligence; for, on his arrival at Vigo, on the sixteenth of October, he used such dispatch, that he carried off whatever could be brought home; burnt the rest; and, notwithstanding the foulness of the ships, the stormy

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stormy weather, and incumbrance of prizes, he arrived safe in the Downs on the seventh of November.

In consequence of this service, the court resolved to employ him in the most momentous affairs for the future; so that, in 1703, the command of the grand fleet up the Straights was conferred on him; where he did every thing in his power: for, though his instructions were very large, yet he wanted force to accomplish any part of what they contained. Such conjunctures as these are the touchstone of an admiral's skill and capacity, of which Sir Cloudesley gave eminent proofs in this expedition; for he protected our trade from all attempts of the French; did all in his power for the relief of the Protestants in Cevennois; he countenanced such of the Italian princes and states as were favourable to the cause of the alliance, and struck such a panic into those of them who were friends to the French, that they durst not perform what they had promised to that court.

This he did with a fleet indifferently manned, and still worse victualled; insomuch that when the management of our maritime affairs was severely censured that year in the house of commons, all parties agreed Sir Cloudesley had done his duty in every respect.

In 1704, Sir George Rooke having the command of the grand fleet in the Mediterranean, Sir Cloudesley was sent with a powerful

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quadron to reinforce him; and, by joining the fleet in the midst of the month of June, was very instrumental in the success which followed: as thereby disappointing all the French schemes, though that nation boasted, they should be able, that summer, to restore their maritime power, and give law to the allies at sea.

He bore a part in the glorious action at Malaga, on the thirteenth of August, 1700; in which he behaved with the utmost bravery, and had the good fortune to escape very well, tho', as he himself writ in his letter, he never in his life took more pains to be well beat: and was far from assuming to himself the glory of beating the French, while Sir George Rooke only looked on, or fought at a distance; the contrary of which is evident from his own letter. After this victory, which happened in the year 1705, the French never durst face our fleets.

Upon Sir Cloudesly Shovel's return, he was presented to the queen by prince George, as lord-high-admiral, and was very graciously received; and next year, it becoming necessary to send both a fleet and army into Spain, he accepted of the joint-command of the former with the earl of Peterborough.

Accordingly, in June, arriving at Lisbon with the fleet, which consisted of twenty-nine line of battle ships, towards the end of that month he sailed from thence to Catalonia, and  
on

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on the twelfth of August came before Barcelona, where the siege of that place had been undertaken by the English army, though very little superior to the garrison within the town.

Never was a more untoward situation than that in which Sir Cloudesley found himself here ; for, besides a difference of opinion which prevailed among the land-officers, concerning the impracticability of the scheme, and the prince of Hesse and the earl of Peterborough disagreeing, all things necessary for carrying on the siege were wanting ; so that their whole dependance was on admiral Shovel ; nor was that great man wanting in his zeal for the service of the public : he supplied the batteries both with guns and men, and the army with military-stores. in short, it was principally owing to him that the place was then taken.

Sir Cloudesley was also commander the next year, 1706, but did not arrive at Lisbon before the month of November : he, however, did all that could be expected from him, though his endeavours had not the wished-for success. The generals and favourites of king Charles were so divided in their sentiments, that nothing could be expected from their councils ; nor was it in the power of Sir Cloudesley to bring about a reconciliation between them, though the whole success, and even the placing their master on the throne of Spain, absolutely depended upon it.



At the beginning of the year 1707, Sir Cloudesly had disposed every thing in the most advantageous manner possible for securing Ali-cant; and had probably succeeded, had not the troops, by an order from England, again embarked for the expedition against Toulon.

This attempt on Toulon, was the last service Sir Cloudesly ever performed; for having left at Gibraltar three fifth rates, and one sixth, for the security of the coasts of Italy, under the command of Sir Thomas Dilkes, he sailed, with ten ships of the line, five frigates, four fireships, a sloop, and a yacht, for England.

On the morning of the twenty-second of October, the fleet came into the soundings, and lay-to about noon. At six in the evening the admiral made sail; but soon after, several of the fleet, and, among the rest, the admiral's own ship, made signals of distress, and presently struck upon the rocks of Scilly. The Royal Anne, commanded by Sir George Byng, was near sharing the same fate, one of the rocks being close under her main chains; nor were the ships of Sir John Norris and Lord Dursley at any great distance. Several young gentlemen of quality were on board the admiral's ship, and perished with him.

To what this unhappy accident was owing, is still a secret; that they were all mistaken in their reckoning is evident, but how such a fatal mistake happened was never known. A report indeed prevailed at that time, that the principal part of the crews had got drunk for  
joy

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joy of their being so near their country ; but it is not natural to think that the officers, especially those who directed the ship's course, could be guilty of such an unguarded action, whatever the common sailors might.

The next day the body of Sir Cloudesley was thrown upon the shore of one of the islands of Scilly, where he was found by some fishermen, who, after stripping him, and taking from his finger an emerald ring of great value, buried him in the sand. But Mr. Paston, purser of the Arundel, being on shore in the island, and hearing that such a ring had been found, sent for the persons, and, after declaring the ring belonged to Sir Cloudesley Shovel, obliged them to discover where they had buried the body ; which he took up, and brought it in his own ship to Portsmouth, from whence it was conveyed to London, and deposited with great funeral pomp in Westminster-abbey ; where a costly monument of white marble was afterwards erected, by the queen's particular orders, to convey to posterity the memory of a man who had done such eminent service to his country.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel was an accomplished sea-officer, and always discharged the trust reposed in him with the greatest honour and integrity : he was a true lover of his country, and always exerted himself for the honour of his sovereign. In private life, he was an indulgent husband, a tender parent, and a sincere friend ; it is therefore no wonder, that few

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men ever lived more beloved, or died more lamented.

He married the widow of Sir John Narborough, his great friend and patron ; and left, at his death, two daughters ; the eldest of whom married lord Romney, and the youngest Sir Narborough d'Aeth, baronet.



T H E





Joseph Addison Esq.

THE LIFE OF  
 . JOSEPH ADDISON.

**J**OSEPH ADDISON, son of Lancelot Addison, dean of Litchfield, was born at Milston, near Ambros-bury, in the county of Wilts, of which place his father was then rector, on the first of May, 1672; and, being not thought likely to live, was baptized on the same day, as appears from the church-register.

One may justly wonder, that, in the account given of Mr. Addison, in Wood's history of the Oxford writers, his true age should be set down, and yet that it should escape Mr. Tickell. This is of some importance, because it changes the whole chronology of his life, and that too in favour of the author. He became a demy of Magdalen College in Oxford, by merit, at the age of seventeen. Is not the bare relation of this the highest panegyric on Mr. Addison? It was here he became acquainted with Mr. Sacheverell, who was exactly of his own age, and of a very promising genius too, since we find a translation of part of the first Georgic of Virgil, inserted in the *Examen Poeticum*, for the year 1693, the  
 same

same volume in which Mr. Addison's first English verses appeared ; and, as Mr. Addison's verses were addressed to Mr. Dryden, so Mr. Sacheverell's translation was dedicated to him. Those who remembered Mr. Addison at college, affirmed, that his temper was the same it appeared ever afterwards ; that is to say, his abilities were exceeded by nothing but his modesty.

When he grew up to an age fit for going to school, he was put under the care of the reverend Mr. Naish, at Ambros-bury. He was afterwards removed to a school at Salisbury, taught by the reverend Mr. Taylor ; and thence to the Charter house, where he was under the tuition of the learned Dr. Ellis, and where he contracted an intimacy with Mr. Steele, afterwards Sir Richard, which lasted as long as Mr. Addison lived.

He was not above fifteen when he went to the university of Oxford, where he was entered of Queen's College, in which his father had studied. He closely addicted himself at this time with such diligence to classical learning, that he acquired an elegant Latin style before he arrived at that age in which lads usually begin to write good English.

A paper of his verses in that tongue, fell, by accident, in the year 1687, into the hands of Dr. Lancaster, dean of Magdalen College, who was so well pleased with them, that he immediately procured their author's election  
into.

into that house, where he took his degrees of bachelor and master of arts.

His Latin poetry, in the course of a few years, was exceedingly admired in both the universities, and justly gained him the reputation of a great poet before his name was so much as known in town.

It is not very certain at what age our author wrote some of the Latin poems which have been published; however, they were certainly written very early, and they still retain that high esteem which was first conceived of them. They were published in the second volume of *Musarum Anglicanarum Analec̃ta, seu Poemata quædam melioris notæ, seu hæcenus inedita, seu sparsim edita*. They were eight in all, but very probably they are not placed in the order of time in which they were written.—

1. *Pax Gulielmi Auspiciis Europæ reddita*, 1697; i. e. Peace under the Auspice of William restored to Europe.
2. *Barometri Descriptio*; i. e. A Description of the Barometer.
3. *ΠΥΓΜΑΙΟΤΕΡΑΝΟΜΑΧΙΑ*, five *Prælium inter Pigmeos & Grues commissum*; i. e. A Battle between the Pigmies and the Cranes.
4. *Resurrectio delineata ad alt. re Coll. Magd. Oxon.* i. e. A Poem upon the Resurrection, being a Description of the Painting over the Altar in Magdalen College at Oxford.
5. *Sphæristerium*; i. e. the Bowling-green.
6. *Ad D. D. Hannes insignissimum Medicum & Poetem*; i. e. To Dr. Hanneß, an excellent physician.



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Physician and Poet, an Ode. 7. *Machinæ gesticulantes*, Anglice; A Puppet-show. 8. *Ad insignissimum Virum D. T. Burnetum, Sacræ Theoriæ Telluris Authorem*; i. e. To the celebrated Dr. Thomas Burnet, Author of the *Theory of the Earth*, an Ode.—These poems have been translated into English by Dr. George Sewell, of Peter-house, Cambridge; Mr. Newcomb, and Nicholas Amhurst, esqrs. both of Oxford.

He was twenty-two years of age before he published any thing in our language, and then came abroad a copy of verses addressed to Mr. Dryden; which procured him immediately, and that very deservedly, from the best judges in that nice age, a great reputation, being as correct and perfect as any thing which even himself afterwards produced.

Some little space intervening, he sent into the world a translation of the fourth Georgic of Virgil (omitting the story of Aristæus) exceedingly commended by Mr. Dryden. He wrote also that discourse on the Georgics which is prefixed to them, by way of preface, in Mr. Dryden's translation, and is allowed to be one of the justest pieces of criticism in our own or in any other language.

It would be equally tedious and impertinent to dwell in this place on every little piece published by our author. It is a kind of charity to illustrate the beauties of an obscure author, but to us it appears a sort of detraction, to suppose

suppose that the worth of any of Mr. Addison's poems should be unknown to our readers: we will therefore confine ourselves to such parts of his works as have any circumstances relating to them which ought to be preserved, as a kind of historical commentary, for the use rather of posterity than of the present times.

Mr. Tickeil, in his preface to the works of Mr. Addison, expresses a kind of surprize, that Mr. Dryden, who so readily owned the version of the fourth Georgic sent him by Mr. Addison, should not take notice of his having communicated the Essay on the Georgics, since it came from the same hand.

Sir Richard Steele took occasion to vindicate Mr. Dryden, by shewing, first, that the Essay upon the Georgics, is the same with the preface prefixed to those poems in Mr. Dryden's translation of Virgil's works; which, secondly, is owned to have come from a friend, whose name is not mentioned because he desired to have it concealed.

If any one should enquire, why Mr. Addison was content the world should know he translated one of Virgil's Georgics, and at the same time desired to conceal his writing what Mr. Dryden placed as a preface to his translation of the Georgics, it will be no difficult thing to satisfy him. The version was what many people had done, and any body might do, but the essay was an untried strain of criticism, which bore a little hard on the old professors

professors of that art, and therefore was not so fit for a young man to take upon himself. In this light, Mr. Dryden's justice, and Mr. Addison's prudence, are alike conspicuous. The former was above assuming unjustly the praise of other people's writings; and the latter was remarkable for keeping so strict a rein upon his wit, that it never got the start of his wisdom.

The next year he wrote several poems of different kinds; amongst the rest, one, dated the third of April, 1694, directed to Mr. H. S. that is, Henry Sacheverell, who was afterwards so famous.

Among all our author's poems, there is not one which is more properly an original, than this account of the greatest English poets, to Mr. Henry Sacheverell; nor will a judicious reader find more pleasure in reading any of his works, than in perusing this. The judgment of a great poet on the writings of his predecessors, written in the dawn of his days, when, without doubt, he spoke more freely than he would afterwards have done, must always be considered as a curiosity.

We should not however have stopped at this poem; had it not been to quote some lines from it, which, if carefully considered, seem to carry in them some memoirs of our author's life.

Towards the conclusion of the poem, he says,

Con-

Congreve, whose fancy's unexhausted store  
 Has given already much, and promis'd more,  
 Congreve shall still preserve thy fame alive,  
 And Dryden's muse shall in his friend survive.

I'm tir'd with rhyming, and wou'd fain give  
     o'er,  
 But justice still demands one labour more ;  
 The noble Montagu remains unnam'd,  
 For wit, for humour, and for judgment fam'd.  
 To Dorset he directs his artful muse  
 In numbers, such as Dorset's self might use.  
 How negligently graceful he unreins  
 His verse, and writes in loose familiar strains.  
 How Nassau's godlike acts adorns his lines,  
 And all the hero in full glory shines.  
 We see his armies set in just array,  
 And Boyne's dy'd waves run purple to the sea.  
 Nor Simois, choak'd with men, and arms, and  
     blood,  
 Nor rapid Xanthus' celebrated flood,  
 Shall longer be the poet's highest themes,  
 Tho' gods and heroes fought promiscuous in  
     their streams :  
 But now to Nassau's secret councils rais'd,  
 He aids the hero whom before he prais'd.

Two remarks may be made on these lines :  
 the first, that Mr. Congreve, about this time,  
 had introduced Mr. Addison to the acquaint-  
 ance of the chancellor of the Exchequer, as Sir  
     Richard

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Richard Steele informs us ; the other, that Mr. Sacheverell had not as yet any qualms about the revolution, otherwise his friend would not have wrote to him in these terms. This is very honourable for our author, since it makes it clear, that, when he differed afterwards with this gentleman, he did not differ from himself, but adhered to those principles which Sacheverell had deserted.

The following year he began to have higher views, which discovered themselves in a poem to king William, on one of his campaigns, addressed to the lord-keeper Sir John Somers.

That judicious statesman received this mark of a young author's attachment with great humanity ; took Mr. Addison thenceforward into the number of his friends ; and gave him, upon all occasions, signal proofs of a sincere esteem.

He had been very pressingly solicited, while at the university, to enter into holy orders ; which he seemed once resolved on, probably in respect to his father ; but his great modesty inclining him to doubt of his own abilities, he receded from his choice, and, having shewn an inclination to travel, his before-mentioned patron, out of zeal for his country, as well as respect to Mr. Addison, procured him from the crown an annual pension of three hundred pounds ; which enabled him to make a tour to Italy in the latter end of 1699.

This

JOSEPH ADDISON. 23

This conduct of Mr. Addison, with respect to the priesthood, hath occasioned some dispute. Let us support, however, what already is advanced; viz. that he had once made a kind of resolution to go into orders. His own words will best prove this: he concludes the poem to Mr. Sacheverell thus.

I've done at length; and now, dear friend,  
receive

The last poor present that my muse can give.  
I leave the arts of poetry and verse  
To them that practise them with more success;  
Of greater truths I'll now prepare to tell,  
And so, at once, dear friend, and muse, fare-  
well.

Mr. Tickell, speaking of these lines, adds, after telling us that he founded this resolution on the importunities of his father, the following account of his abandoning that design.

“ His remarkable seriousness and modesty, which might have been urged as powerful reasons for his chusing that life, proved the chief obstacles to it. These qualities, by which the priesthood is so much adorned, represented the duties of it as too weighty for him, and rendered him still more worthy of that honour which they made him decline.”

Sir Richard Steele, speaking to Mr. Congreve of this passage, says,

“ These

“ These, you know very well, were not the reasons which made Mr. Addison turn his thoughts to the civil world; and, as you were the inducement of his becoming acquainted with my lord Halifax, I doubt not but you remember the warm instances that noble lord made to the head of the college, not to insist upon Mr. Addison’s going into orders: his arguments were founded upon the general pravity and corruption of men of business, who wanted liberal education; and I remember, as if I had read the letter yesterday, that my lord ended with a compliment, that, however he might be represented as no friend to the church, he would never do it any other injury, than keeping Mr. Addison out of it. The contention for this man, in his early years, among the people of the greatest power, Mr. Secretary Tickell, the executor for his fame, is pleased to ascribe to a serious visage and modesty of behaviour.”

This last remark is equally ill-natured and ill-founded. Sir Richard introduces Mr. Addison’s visage; but the seriousness Mr. Tickell spoke of, was the quality of his mind. The gentleman accounts for Mr. Addison’s quitting his resolution; the knight talks of the pains other people took to prevent his following it: both the accounts might be true, but there was no necessity for inserting either in our account of his life: though it would

would have been wrong not to have acquainted the reader with so remarkable a passage.

His Latin poems, dedicated to Mr. Montagu, then chancellor of the Exchequer, were printed, before his departure, in the *Musæ Anglicanæ*; and were as much admired abroad as they could possibly be at home, particularly by the great Boileau, who spoke of them in very obliging terms, and who was known to be both an able judge and one incapable of partiality.

It is from Mr. Tickell that we learn this circumstance in relation to Boileau; it is therefore proper the reader should see his own words.

“ His country owes it to him (Mr. Addison) that the famous Monsieur Boileau first conceived an opinion of the English genius for poetry, by perusing the present he made him of the *Musæ Anglicanæ*. It has been currently reported, that this famous French poet, among the civilities he shewed Mr. Addison on that occasion, affirmed, That he would not have written against Perrault, had he before seen such excellent pieces written by a modern hand.

“ Such a saying would have been impertinent, and unworthy Boileau, whose dispute with Perrault turned chiefly upon some passages in the antients, which he rescued from the misrepresentations of his adversary.



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“ The true and natural compliment made by him, was, That those books had given him a very new idea of the English politeness; and that he did not question, but there were excellent compositions in the native language of a country that possessed the Roman genius in so eminent a degree.”

In 1701, Mr. Addison wrote from Italy an epistolary poem to Montagu, lord Halifax. This was most justly admired as a finished piece of its kind; and indeed some have pronounced it the very best of Mr. Addison's performances.

This poem was translated by the abbot Antonio Maria Salvini, Greek professor at Florence, into Italian verse; which translation is printed with the original, in Mr. Tickell's quarto edition of Mr. Addison's works.

It is not to be wondered that this poem is in the highest esteem in Italy, since there are in it the best turned compliments on that country that are to be found in any language. Add to this, that the Italians must naturally apprehend their force, as well or better than ourselves, on account of their familiarity with the objects therein described. It may likewise be observed, that the opening of this poem is peculiarly graceful, and alike honourable, for the writer and the patron.

While

While you, my lord, the rural shades admire,  
 And from Britannia's public posts retire;  
 Nor longer, her ungrateful sons to please,  
 For their advantage sacrifice your ease;  
 Me into foreign realms my fate conveys,  
 Through nations fruitful of immortal lays;  
 Where the soft season, and inviting clime,  
 Conspire to trouble your repose with rhyme.

Lord Halifax had that year been impeached by the commons in parliament, for procuring exorbitant grants from the crown to his own use; and farther charged, with cutting down and wasting the timber in his majesty's forests, and with holding several offices in the Exchequer, that were inconsistent, and designed as checks upon each other. The commons had likewise addressed the king, to remove him from his counsels and presence for ever.

These were the causes of his retiring, and Mr. Addison's address at this time is a noble proof of his gratitude, as the manner of it will be a lasting monument of his good sense. In four lines he has handled a topic, the nicest that could be; and in four more makes a transition to his subject naturally, and without precipitation.

On his return, he published an account of his travels, which he dedicated to his patron the lord Somers.

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In our author's Dedication of his Travels to the the right honourable John, lord Somers, he takes an opportunity of paying his lordship one of the finest and best turned compliments that ever entered a dedication; inasmuch as, in a single paragraph, the patron, the subject, and the client, are all connected with the greatest propriety in point of thought, and the greatest beauty in regard to style.

"I had," says he, "a very early ambition to recommend myself to your lordship's patronage, which yet encreased in me, as I travelled through the countries, of which I here give your lordship some account: for whatever great impressions an Englishman must have of your lordship, they who have been conversant abroad will find them still improved. It cannot but be obvious to them, that, though they see your lordship's admirers every where, they meet with very few of your well-wishers at Paris or at Rome: and I could not but observe, when I passed through most of the protestant countries in Europe, that their hopes, or fears, for the common cause, rose or fell with your lordship's interest and authority in England."

In his Preface, Mr. Addison gave his reader fully to understand what he was to meet with in the following pages. For having observed, that Burnet had, in his travels, masterly and

and uncommon observations, on the religion and governments of Italy; that Laffels might be used in giving the names of such writers as had treated of the several states through which he passed; that Mr. Ray had published several valuable remarks in respect to natural history; and that Mr. Mission particularly excelled in the plan of the country; he goes on thus:

“ For my own part, as I have taken notice of several places and antiquities, that no body else has taken notice of, so I think I have mentioned but few things in common with others, that are not either set in a new light, or accompanied with different reflections. I have taken care, particularly, to consider the several passages of the ancient poets, which have any relation to the places and curiosities that I met with; for, before I entered upon my voyage, I took care to refresh my memory among the classic authors, and to make such collections out of them, as I might afterwards have occasion for.

“ I must confess, it was not one of the least entertainments that I met with in travelling, to examine these several descriptions as it were upon the spot, and to compare the natural face of the country with the land skips the poets had given us of it.”

Notwithstanding this introduction, this piece was not at first understood, and consequently

could not succeed ; but, by degrees, as the curious entered deeper and deeper into the book, their judgment of it changed, and the demand for it became so great, that the price rose at last to its original value, before there was a second edition printed. It has ever since maintained its reputation, most of the virtuosi who have travelled through Italy since having given it high commendations, and, which is perhaps a sincere proof of their approbation, have chose to tread in the same track. It hath been translated into French, and makes usually the fourth volume of *Mission's* travels in that language,

The two great points laboured in these travels, are, the recommending the classic writers, and promoting the doctrine of liberty.— These points had been before pursued in the *Epistle to lord Halifax*, and therefore Mr. *Tickell* has very justly and judiciously observed, That this poem may be considered as the text upon which the book of travels is a large comment.

He would have returned earlier than he did into England, had he not been thought of as a proper person to attend prince Eugene, who then commanded for the emperor in Italy ; which employment he would have been well pleased with ; but the death of king William intervening, caused a cessation of his pension and his hopes.

He remained at home a very considerable space of time (his friends being then out of  
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the ministry) before any occasion offered, either of his farther displaying his great abilities, or of his meeting with any suitable reward, for the honour his works had already done his country. He was indebted to an accident for both.

In the year 1704, the lord-treasurer Godolphin happened to complain to the lord Halifax, that the duke of Marlborough's victory at Blenheim had not been celebrated in verse in the manner it deserved; intimating, that he would take it kindly, if his lordship, who was the known patron of the poets, would name a gentleman capable of writing upon so elevated a subject.

Lord Halifax replied with some quickness, that he was well acquainted with such a person, but that he would not name him; adding, That he had long seen with indignation, men of no merit maintained in pomp and luxury, at the expence of the public, while persons of too much modesty, with great abilities, languished in obscurity. The treasurer said very coolly, That he was sorry his lordship had occasion to make such an observation; and, that, for the future, he would take care to render it less just than it might be at present; but that, in the mean time, he would pawn his honour, who ever his lordship should name, might venture upon this theme without fear of losing his time. Lord Halifax there-upon named Mr. Addison, but insisted that the

treasurer himself should send to him, which he promised.

Accordingly, he prevailed upon Mr. Boyle, afterwards lord Carlton, chancellor of the Exchequer, to go, in his name, to Mr. Addison, and communicate to him the business; which he accordingly did, in so obliging a manner, that he readily entered upon the task.

The lord-treasurer Godolphin saw the poem before it was finished, when the author had written no farther than the famous simile of the angel; and was so well pleased with it, that he immediately made him a commissioner of appeals, in the room of Mr. Locke, who was promoted to be one of the lords commissioners for trade, &c.

His poem, intituled *The Campaign*, was received with loud and general applause; however, it may be doubted, what real benefit the duke of Marlborough reaped from it; since, if, on the one hand, it set his conduct in the fairest light, it introduced, on the other, a rival in fame; for, in all probability, the poem will be admired as long as the victory is remembered.

The *Campaign* is addressed to the duke of Marlborough, and contains a short view of the military transactions in the year 1704, with a very particular, as well as poetical description of the two great actions at Schellemburg and Blenheim:

Several other eminent writers employed their pens on the same subject; particularly Mr. J. Phillips,

Phillips, and Mr. Eusden, who was afterwards poet-laureat. However, Mr. Addison was by far the most admired, and some of his warmest friends have ventured to prefer this poem to the rest of his works. Perhaps this is a partiality to the subject, rather than to the piece itself, which, however fine, could not be the most excellent of Mr. Addison's performances, because of its natural irregularity.

All things considered, without question, the Campaign is truly excellent, but excellent only with regard to its subject; for, though the world allowed Mr. Addison to exceed others therein, yet no judges of poetry will admit that he excelled himself.

In 1705, our author attended the lord Halifax to Hanover; and, in the succeeding year, he was made choice of for under-secretary to Sir Charles Hedges, then appointed secretary of state. In the month of December, in the same year, the earl of Sunderland succeeding Sir Charles in that office, continued Mr. Addison in the post of under-secretary.

Operas being, at this time much in vogue, many people of distinction and true taste, importuned Mr. Addison to make a trial whether sense and sound were really so incompatible as some admirers of the Italian pieces would represent them. He was at last prevailed upon to comply with their requests, and composed his inimitable Rosamond.

This piece was inscribed to the duchess of Marlborough; and, though it did not suc-



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ceed on the stage, it has been, and everlastingly will be, applauded in the closet. The many, looked upon it as not properly an opera, and the few joined them in their opinion: for having considered what a number of miserable things had borne that title, they were scarce satisfied that so excellent a piece should appear by the same.

About the same time, our author assisted the ingenious Sir Richard Steele in his play called *The Tender Husband*, to which our author wrote a humorous Prologue. Sir Richard, whose gratitude was full as warm as his wit, surprized him with a Dedication, which may be considered as one of the few monuments of praise, not unworthy of him to whose honour it was erected.

In 1709, the marquis of Wharton being appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, carried over Mr. Addison into that kingdom in the quality of his secretary. Her majesty also was pleased, as a mark of her peculiar favour, to augment the salary annexed to the place of keeper of the records in that kingdom, and to bestow it upon him.

While he was in Ireland, his friend Mr. Steele published the *Tatler*; which appeared, for the first time, on the twelfth of April, 1709. Mr. Addison discovered the author by an observation on Virgil, which he had communicated to him. This discovery led him to farther assistances, insomuch, that, as the author of the *Tatlers* well expressed it, he fared  
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by this means like a distressed prince who calls in a powerful neighbour to his aid ; that is, he was undone by his auxiliary. Such was the superiority of Mr. Addison's genius, and so true a taste the town then had of correct and fine writing.

It would be very improper to enter farther into the history of the *Tatler*, than as it concerns Mr. Addison.

Mr. Tickell observes, and Sir Richard Steele confesses, that the paper was set on foot and dropped without Mr. Addison's knowledge ; of course the history of the *Tatler* belongs properly to another article.

The papers written by Mr Addison were not distinguished in this collection by any mark ; but Sir Richard Steele, at the request of Mr. Tickell, pointed them out to him ; and not only so, but shewed him such as they were jointly concerned in : and these, as well as those, are printed in the second volume of Mr. Addison's works.

It must be allowed, that many of these little essays are not only exquisite, but incomparable. It is impossible to be serious while we read such of them as are humorous ; or not to be grave on the perusal of such as are of an opposite cast. The images are so striking, the language so graceful, the turn so natural, the raillery so lively, and at the same time so innocent, that, not to be charmed with those pieces, and to be absolutely without taste, must be for ever synonymous terms.

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Upon the change in the ministry, our author being more at leisure, engaged oftener in that work, until its conclusion on the second of January, 1711.

Immediately after the *Tatler* was laid down, Sir Richard Steele formed the project of the *Spectator*; the plan of which he concerted with Mr. Addison.

The first paper appeared on the first of March, 1711; and, in the course of that celebrated work, Mr. Addison furnished the greater part of those papers which were most admired. It was finished on the sixth of September, 1712; and Mr. Addison, to prevent any disputes, or mistakes, which might otherwise have happened, took care to distinguish his papers, throughout the whole, by some letter in the name of the muse CLIO.

The affinity between the *Tatlers*, *Spectators*, and *Guardians*, makes it unnecessary to enter minutely into the merit of such papers as Mr. Addison contributed, in the carrying on the two last undertakings. In the *Spectators*, the character of Sir Roger de Coverly was his particular favourite. We are told by a gentleman, who was thought to be well acquainted with Mr. Addison's affairs, that he was so tender of his character, as to go to Sir Richard Steele, on his publishing a *Spectator*, wherein he made Sir Roger pick up a woman in the Temple cloisters; and would not part with his friend, until he had promised to meddle with the old knight's character no more.

However,

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However, Mr. Addison, to make sure, and to prevent any absurdities, which the authors of subsequent Spectators might fall into, resolved to remove that character out of the way ; or, as he pleasantly expressed it to an intimate friend, killed Sir Roger, that no body else might murder him.

As to the marking of the Spectators, it was our author's own act and deed : but Mr. Tickell, in his Preface to his works, having expressed this in very strong terms, saying, That Mr. Addison had hereby removed the least possibility of mistake in the most undiscerning reader ; Sir Richard Steele, who was extremely offended with that Preface, remarked severely on this passage, and speaking thereof to Mr. Congreve, uses these words :

“ I have observed, that the editor will not let me, or any one else, obey Mr. Addison's commands, in hiding any thing he desired should be concealed. I cannot but take further notice, that the circumstance of marking his Spectators, which I did not know until I had done with the work, I made my own act, because I thought it too great a sensibility in my friend ; and thought, since it was done, better to be supposed marked by me, than the author himself ; the real state of which, this zealot rashly and injudiciously exposes.

“ I ask the reader, whether any thing but an earnestness to disparage me, could provoke  
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the editor, in behalf of Mr. Addison, to say, that he marked it out of caution against me, when I had taken it upon me to say, it was I that did it out of tendernefs to him ?”

It must be allowed, that Sir Richard, in the concluding paper of the Spectator, had said all that could be expected, if not more, with respect not only to the distinction, but also in regard to Mr. Addison's character particularly ; there did not therefore seem to be the least occasion for these precautions, with respect to a man who was really as warm a friend as could be wished, and a much warmer than these cautious people seem to have any idea of.

When the old Spectator was laid down, a new one appeared ; which, though written by men of wit and genius, did not succeed ; and they had the good sense not to push the attempt too far. Without question, the original Spectator will always be esteemed, not only as excellent in its nature and execution, but as truly honourable to the times in which it was received with so much applause. Posterity must have a high idea of the manners and good sense of the British nation, when they are informed that twenty thousand of these papers were sometimes sold in a day.

The Guardian, a paper in the same taste, and, which is saying much more, in the same spirit, entertained the town in the years 1713 and 1714 ; Mr. Addison had a large share therein

therein, and his papers were particularly re-lished : and he also wrote once or twice in the Lover.

It was necessary to speak of these performances together, which has carried us somewhat out of our ordinary road. Let us return therefore to the year 1713, in which appeared his famous Cato.

He took up the design of writing a tragedy on that subject, when he was very young ; he actually wrote it while he was on his travels ; however, he retouched it while he was in England, without any formed design of bringing it on the stage ; but some friends of his believing that it might be advantageous to the cause of liberty, he was prevailed on to make it fit for the stage ; which he accordingly did, by adding the greatest part of the last act.

When it appeared, it was gazed on as a wonder, all parties applauded it ; it ran thirty-five nights without interruption ; and, what was more in the author's reputation, the best judges declared in its favour, when they had read it, with the same passion the pit had done when it was first seen. Mr. Pope wrote the Prologue, which is sublime. Dr. Garth the Epilogue, which is humourous. It was recommended by many excellent copies of verses prefixed to it ; among which, the sincerity of Mr. Steele, and the genius of Mr. Kufden, deserve to be distinguished.

Foreign nations have done this work of our author's as much honour as our own ; and indeed,

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deed, it is one of those few performances which cannot receive more honour than it deserves.

We shall here present the reader with some circumstances relating to its first appearance. They are contained in a letter from Alexander Pope esq. to Sir William Trumbull; dated April 30, 1713.

“ As to poetical affairs, I am content, at present, to be a bare looker on; and, from a practitioner, turn an admirer; which is, as the world goes, not very unusual. Cato was not so much the wonder of Rome, in his days, as he is of Britain in ours; and, though all the foolish industry possible has been used to make it a party play, yet, what the author once said of another, may the most properly in the world be applied to him on this occasion,

Envy itself is dumb, in wonder lost,  
And factions strive who shall applaud him most.

“ The numerous and violent claps of the whig-party, on the one side of the theatre, were echoed back by the Tories on the other; while the author sweated behind the scenes with concern, to find their applause proceeding more from the hand than the head. This was the case too of the Prologue-writer, who was clapped into a staunch Whig at almost every two lines,

“ I be-

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"I believe you have heard, that, after all the applauses of the opposite faction, my lord Bolingbroke sent for Booth, who played Cato, into the box, between one of the acts, and presented him with fifty guineas; in acknowledgment, as he expressed it, for defending the cause of liberty to wren against a perpetual dictator. The Whigs are unwilling to be distanced this way, and therefore design a present to the Lord Cato very speedily. In the meantime, they are getting ready as good a sentence as the former on their side. So, betwixt the two, it is probable, that Cato, as Dr. Gaith expressed it, may have something to live upon after he dies."

Immediately after the publication of this tragedy, there came abroad a pamphlet, intitled, *Observations upon Cato*. This was written by Dr. S. well, a very ingenious gentleman, and a good poet.

The design of this piece was to shew, that the applause this tragedy had met with, was founded in merit. It is a very accurate and entertaining criticism, and contributed not a little to the securing our poet the hearts of his readers, as well as of his audience. We are not, however, to suppose that our author had no enemies, or that there were not enough who either did not like that tragedy, or pretended not to like it.

Amongst these, the formidable Mr. Dennis had the courage to attack it; first in a pamphlet,



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let, and again in a subsequent work ; wherein he employed no less than seven letters in pulling the tragedy to pieces, and saying whatever an ill-natured man, with a tolerable share of wit, might be able to say against the best written piece in the world.

Another gentleman, who called himself a scholar of Oxford, considered the play in a quite different light ; that is, he considered it as a political piece, and endeavoured to serve his party, by turning the cannon upon the enemy. The title of his pamphlet was, Mr. Addison turned Tory ; and it is written with great spirit and vivacity. Dr. Fiddes also took some exceptions at the following lines,

In spite of all the virtues we can boast,  
A woman that deliberates is lost.

The doctor thinks these reflect on the fair sex ; but this seems a very forced construction, the sentiment is just and natural, and all strokes of this sort ought to be considered, not as censures, but as cautions. The best judges, however, declared on the side of Mr. Addison, and, as occasion offered, vindicated the merit of this tragedy against all opponents.

Mr. Boyer translated it into French, the same year it was published ; but very indifferently. Abbe du Bos made an excellent version ; of which, however, only the three first scenes were printed. Abbot Salvini translated it into Italian. His translation was acted at

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Leghorn with prodigious applause, and he afterwards published it at Florence. It is not known, whether Signior Valetta's translation was ever printed; he was a young Neopolitan nobleman who did it purely for his amusement. The jesuits at St. Omer translated it into Latin, and caused it to be acted by their pupils there with great magnificence. They likewise sent Mr. Addison a copy of their translation.

In France, a poet, named Des Champs, having seen this tragedy, wrote another with the same title, and dedicated it to the duke of Orleans. This was first excessively cried up in France, translated into English blank-verse, and published, with a parallel of that piece and the Cato of Addison, wherein the preference was given to the French performance. However, this was all the effect of pique, and the character of the French Cato could never be established.

Mr. Voltaire has commended and condemned Mr. Addison by turns; and, in respect to the Cato, he admires and censures it extravagantly. The principal character he allows superior to any before brought upon the stage; but for all the love scenes he will have them absolutely insipid; which may be allowed him, when he shall prove another of his assertions; viz. That Cato was the first regular tragedy that ever appeared on the English stage.

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It was also translated more than once into French, obtained two Italian versions, and has been either translated or imitated in the German language. But the greatest honour that ever was done thereto, was the putting the soliloquy of Cato, which is perhaps the noblest thing in our language, into a latin dress, which might have been read with admiration, even by the criticks in the court of Augustus. Fame has attributed this to the late bishop Atterbury, and as it were superlatively fine, the world thought fame in the right, and so it proved.

This excellent tragedy did not escape the minor criticks, as the reader will find hereafter. Her majesty queen Anne, was not the last in doing justice to our author, and his performance. She was pleased to signify an inclination of having it dedicated to her; but the author published it without a dedication, because, as it is said, he had proposed to dedicate it elsewhere, and by this method, he thought to avoid offending either his duty or his honour. If in the subsequent part of his life his leisure had been greater, we are told he would have written another tragedy, intituled, *The Death of Socrates*. But the honours due to what he had already performed, deprived posterity of this promised labour.

Upon the death of the queen, the lords justices appointed Mr. Addison their secretary, which took him off from a design he had formed,

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formed, of composing an English dictionary, on the plan of a famous Italian one. There was some thoughts of making him secretary of state at that time, but he was at pains to decline it, and accepted a second time, under the earl of Sunderland, the post of secretary to the lord-lieutenant of Ireland; he held it however but a very little time; for on the earl's being removed, he was made one of the lord's of Trade.

In 1716, he married the countess of Warwick; and on the first breaking out of the rebellion, he published the *Freeholder*, which is a kind of political *Spectator*.

The *Freeholder* is particularly mentioned, because it was a work written by Mr. Addison, entirely, and upon his own plan. Some indeed have supposed, that he was assisted in this work by Mr. Phillips. But there seems to be no foundation for this report, since neither Mr. Tickell says any thing of it, nor does it appear from the papers themselves, that they were written by different hands; for they are the most uniform, and, the greatest part of them, the most out of every man's way of writing but Mr. Addison's, that can be imagined.

There is one thing to be said in respect to the *Freeholder*, which as it will be certainly said by posterity, I can see no reason why it should not be said here; The *Freeholder* is, without question, the most indubitable proof  
of

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of the use of a man of true wit, and reasonable application, may be of to any administration. The numerous pieces of Sir Roger L'Estrange, were all calculated to make the people laugh, or to put them in a passion. Dr. Welwood's periodical papers were all politics, and, consequently, too dry for the generality of readers.

During the reign of the queen, polemic writings were not only sharp, but bitter; and their authors studied rather to make their adversaries feel the quickness of their reproaches, then to persuade them by sound arguments, much less to invite them, by moderate and gentle applications, to their different humours and ways of thinking. The Freeholder hath avoided all these faults, and, with an inexhaustible fund of humour, mingles sometimes the gravest reasonings, and at others the kindest expostulations. Beautiful descriptions, exquisite allegories, visions almost more than human; and, in fine, whatever might please, whatever could move, whatever seemed fittest to attract, is to be found in those inimitable essays; and one may speak it without fear of being contradicted by any man who reads them, that they are the best turned papers, with a view for the purpose for which they were written, that were ever penned.

Mr. Addison without question wrote them in consequence of his principles, out of a desire of removing prejudices, and from a strong in-

Inclination to settle the government, and make his country. The making him secretary of state therefore, was but doing him justice for so extraordinary and well-timed a service, which more than balanced that deficiency, which he objected against his own preferment, his being no speaker in the House of Commons.

There were just fifty-five papers in all; the first was published on the twenty-third of September, 1715, and the last on the twenty-ninth of June, 1716. These pieces were exceedingly admired, and, which was more the author's aim, were of great use at the time they were written. He published also at this time, some little pieces of poetry, such as verses to Sir Godfrey Kneller on the king's picture, and another copy to the princess of Wales, with the tragedy of Cato. In April 1717, his majesty king George I, was pleased to appoint our author one of his principal secretaries of state. His health, which had been before impaired by an asthmatic disorder, suffered exceedingly by an advancement so much to his honour, but attended notwithstanding with very great fatigue. He bore it however with great patience, till finding, or rather suspecting, that it might be prejudicial to the public business, he resigned his office. Having thus procured for himself a vacancy from business, he grew better, and his friends were in hopes, that his health would have been thoroughly re-established.

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In the leisure moments he applied himself steadily to a religious work, which he had begun long before, the first part whereof, scarce finished, is preserved and printed in his works. He likewise intended to have paraphrased some of the psalms of David; but a long and painful relapse broke all his designs, and deprived the world of this excellent person, on the seventeenth of June, 1719, when he was entering the forty fourth year of his age. He died at Holland-house near Kensington, and left behind him an only daughter, by the countess of Warwick. After his decease, Mr. Tickell, who had the author's commands and instructions, collected and published his works in four volumes in quarto. In this edition there are several pieces hitherto unmentioned, of which it is necessary we should speak. The first in order of time is the Dissertation upon Medals, which, though published after his death, yet the materials for it were collected in Italy, and he actually began to digest them into order, when at Vienna, in the year 1702. These dialogues are every way worthy of Mr. Addison; the design is just and useful, the manner correct, beautiful, and in the true taste of antiquity. All the elegance of Plato, all the good sense and masculine gravity of Tully, with a becoming air of humour, in which our author was truly an original, are discoverable in this little work. The editor took a great deal of pains

pains in translating the Latin quotations, and the verses prefixed to it by Mr. Pope, are as perfect in poetry, as the piece itself is in prose.

In November, 1707, there came abroad a pamphlet under the title of, *The Present state of the War, and the necessity of an augmentation considered*. It is now printed among Mr. Addison's works, and I believe nobody who reads it will doubt that it is his. The spirit in which it is writ, the weighty observations contained therein, on the strength and interest of foreign nations, and the comprehensive knowledge, shewn of all things relating to our own, evince it the work of no ordinary hand.

The *Whig Examiner*, came out on the fourteenth of September, 1710, for the first time. There were five papers in all attributed to Mr. Addison, These are by much the severest things he ever wrote. Dr. Sacheverell, Mr. Prior, and many other persons are in them very harshly treated. The *Examiner* had done the same thing on the part of the Tories, and the avowed design of their paper was to make reprisals.

In 1713, there was published a little pamphlet, entitled, *The late trial and conviction of Count Tariff*. It was intended to expose the Tory ministry, on the head of the French commerce bill; and is likewise a very severe piece. These are all that are included in Mr.



Tickell's edition, which were published in the life-time of Mr. Addison, without his name; as also was the *Drummer*, or the *Haunted House*, a comedy, not taken notice of in this edition, but published afterwards as Mr. Addison's by Sir Richard Steele.

The *Drummer* was first published without any author's name, but with a preface prefixed by Sir Richard Steele, wherein he tells us, that it had been some years in the hands of the author, and falling under his perusal, he thought so well of it, that he persuaded him to make some additions and alterations and let it appear on the stage. He owns that it was not well received, or at least, not so well received as it deserved, which he accounts for, by observing that the strokes therein are too delicate, for every taste in a popular assembly; and he adds, that his brother sharers were of opinion, that it was like a picture, in which the strokes were not strong enough to appear at a distance.

Mr. Tickell publishing Mr. Addison's works in 1721, omitted this comedy, which Sir Richard Steele so much resented, that he quickly after published a second edition of it, with an epistle to Mr. Congreve thereto prefixed; in this epistle he asserts, that he recommended the play to the stage, and carried it to the press; he likewise tells us the price it was sold at, viz. fifty guineas. He refers himself to his former preface, for a proof of  
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his zeal on that occasion, which he observes could flow from nothing else, than his affection for the author. For as to the share any one else had in it, he is very positive it very little exceeded that of an amanuensis.

“ But indeed, continues he, had I not known it, at the time of the transaction concerning the acting on the stage and sale of the copy, I should, I think, have seen Mr. Addison in every page of it ; for he was above all men in that talent called humour, and enjoyed it in such perfection, that I have often reflected, after a night spent with him apart from the world, that I had the pleasure of conversing with an intimate acquaintance of Terence and Catullus, who had all their wit and nature, heightened with humour more exquisite and delightful, than any other man ever possessed. They who shall read this play, after being let into the secret that it was written by Mr. Addison, or under his direction, will probably be attentive to those excellencies, which they before overlooked, and wonder they did not till now observe, that there is not an expression in the whole piece, which has not in it the most nice propriety and aptitude to the character which utters it ; there is that smiling mirth, that delicate satire, and genteel raillery, which appeared to Mr. Addison when he was free among intimates ; I say when he was from his remark-

able bashfulness, which is a cloak that hides and muffles merit, and his abilities were covered only by modesty, which doubles the beauties which are seen, and gives credit and esteem to all that are concealed. The Drummer made no great figure on the stage, though exquisitely well acted; but when I observe this, I say a much harder thing of the stage than of the comedy. When I say the stage in this place, I am understood to mean in general, the present state of theatrical representations; where nothing that is not violent, and, as I may say, grossly delightful, can come on without hazard of being condemned or slighted."

Nothing can be more just than Sir Richard's sentiments on this matter. The Drummer may be perhaps established as a test of true taste, he who likes it, has it, he who disapproves this piece, has it not. Experience justified Sir Richard's conjecture. This play which failed when inimitably acted, at Drury Lane, was, when much worse performed, loudly applauded at Mr. Rich's house, merely because it was then known to be Mr. Addison's.

How honourable this for our author! how dishonourable to the audience! how happy was he to have his former writings read by better judges! The time in which he lived was worthy of Mr. Addison, but if his writings

ings should ever reach an age, so stupid or so barbarous as not to relish them, that will not alter their nature, they will still remain as excellent as before, though not to the eyes of those Goths and Vandals. But we deviate too far from our purpose, and yet to what purpose do we write, if it be not to defend the world from a decay of a taste, and to preserve from the inclemency of savage times, those wreaths which men of merit have deserved.

Since his death, and the coming out of that edition, the following pieces have been ascribed to our author. *Dissertio de insignoribus Romanorum poetis*, i. e. A Dissertation upon the most eminent Roman poets. This is supposed to have been written about 1692, is allowed to contain many useful observations, yet nobody has hitherto ventured to decide, whether it is, or is not, Mr. Addison's. A Discourse on ancient and modern learning; the time when it was written uncertain, but probably as easy as the former. It was preserved amongst the manuscripts of the Lord Somers, which, after the death of Sir Joseph Jekyl, being publickly sold, this little piece came to be printed, in 1739, and was as well received as it deserved. To these we must add, *The Old Whig*, No. 1. and 2. pamphlets written in defence of the peerage bill, 1719.

In the latter end of 1718, and in the beginning of 1719, the peerage bill began first to be talked of, and the scope of the bill was

this. That instead of the sixteen peers sitting in parliament as representatives of Scotland, there are for the future to be nine hereditary peers by the junction of nine out of the body of the Scotch nobility, to the then sixteen sitting peers. That six English peers should be added, and the peerage then to remain fixed; the crown being restrained from making any new lords, but upon the extinction of families. What was the real view of this extraordinary scheme, is what we have no business here to inquire into. It is sufficient for our purpose to observe, that it gave a great alarm to the nation, and many papers with great spirit were written against it; amongst the rest, one called the *Plebeian*, said to fall from the pen of a member of the House of Commons; and now known to have been written by Sir Richard Steele. To this several answers were published, and abundance of pieces written in support of this project, none of which, however, were favourably received.

At length came forth the *Old Whig*, No. 1. on the state of the peerage, with remarks on the *plebeian*. A quarto pamphlet, written with great perspicuity, in a nervous stile, not without some severe reflections on the *plebeian*. The author of that paper did not suffer it to remain long unanswered.

In his second number he replied to all the arguments therein made use of, treating the author with a good deal of asperity, alledging

among other things, that the pamphlet had a very proper title, the author, if he was a Whig, seeming so old as to have forgot his principles. There does not appear however, any thing in the first old Whig, which betrays the author's knowledge of the Plebeian coming from Sir Richard Steele; neither is there any thing in the second Plebian, which intimates the writer's having the least suspicion, that the Old Whig was Mr. Addison's.

Though there was in the last mentioned paper, an intimation of the author's superior dignity, and more thorough acquaintance with the secret of this affair. For the Old Whig first declared that his majesty had given his consent, which he styles an act of unparalleled goodness; of which fact the Plebian doubted, or at least affected to doubt. The second Old Whig was written in support of the first, and in answer to the second Plebian. It is a very judicious, and at the same time a very warm and very humorous pamphlet; from the very beginning of which it is apparent, that the author knew, or at least was resolved to consider Sir Richard as the writer of the Plebeian. He styles him the perfect master in the vocation of pamphlet writing in one place, calls him Little Dicky in another, tells him, he has made the most of a bad cause in a third, and advises him as a friend in the close, if he goes on in the new vocation, to take care that he be as happy in the choice of

his subject, as he is in the talents of a pamphleteer.

The fourth Plebian contains an answer to the second Old Whig. It is written with much greater virulence than any of the rest of the papers; his conclusion is very remarkable. Authors, says he, in these cases are named upon suspicion, and if it is right as to the Old Whig, I leave the world to judge of this cause by comparison of this performance with his other writings; and I shall say no more of what is writ in support of vassalage, but end this paper by firing every free breast with that noble exhortation of the tragedian,

Remember, O! my friends, &c.

MR ADDISON'S CATO.

This is sufficient to shew Sir Richard's belief, nor hath any body questioned the truth of his conjecture. The peerage bill went off notwithstanding for that session, and Mr. Addison died before it came on again, in the latter end of the same year.

It may not however, be amiss to observe, that December 7, 1719, on a motion in the House of Commons, for committing the peerage bill, it was carried in the negative, by 269, against 177.

It is not easy to account for the not inserting of these papers amongst his works, unless we suppose that the publication of them following  
immedi-

immediately the disappointment of that design, made it improper to discover how much our author had it at heart. Thus we have run thro' the history of this great man's life and writings, who as he was superior to most of his cotemporaries in other things, so he particularly excelled them in this; that his performances; nothing puerile in the most early, nothing below his genius in the last; constant to his principles, and to his friendships; he died as he lived, esteemed and revered by the great, without raising any enemies, except such as were on account of party; and even these expressed their enmity with reluctance, such was their admiration of his virtues.

We have endeavoured to do some justice to our author's character, and especially to that distinguishing part thereof, the ease and readiness with which he wrote, notwithstanding the accuracy and correctness of all his writings. This, it may be, will be thought best supported by proof, which we shall give. The following epigram (which is not inserted in his works) was written when he was a member of the Kit-Cat Club, extempore, and yet it has not only wit, but correctness to recommend it.

On the Lady MANCHESTER.

When haughty Gallia's dames that spread  
O'er their pale cheeks an artful red:

Beheld



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Beheld this beauteous stranger there,  
In native charms, divinely fair ;  
Confusion in their looks they shew'd,  
And with unborrowed blushes glow'd.

A farther proof of the extraordinary facility, with which he produced even the most perfect of his performances, may be taken from what Sir Richard Steele says of his Cato ; he tells us, that the last act was written in less than a week's time,

“ For this, continues he, was particular in this writer, that when he had taken his resolution, or made his plan for what he designed to write, he would walk about a room and dictate it into language, with as much freedom and ease as any one could write it down ; and attend to the coherence and grammar of what he dictated.”

To attempt the reckoning up the friends of Mr. Addison, would be an endless labour ; and yet, to say nothing of those who distinguished Mr. Addison, at the same time that they were themselves persons of the first distinction, would be an unpardonable omission. We have already taken notice of lord Somers, whose friendship to our author continued without interruption as long as he lived. We have likewise mentioned Mr. Addison's gratitude towards him in the dedication of his travels,

vels, after that nobleman had been impeached in the reign of king William; and was actually when he dedicated it to him, in disgrace with queen Anne.

We are yet to remark, that Mr. Addison out-lived him, so in one of his Freeholders he paid such a tribute to his memory, as must endear his own to every man of honour. The celebrated earl of Halifax maintained also an inviolable friendship throughout his whole life for our author; to whose reputation we can add nothing, except it be naming the illustrious foreigners who subscribed for his works, which not only does honour to him but to our nation. They were the queen of Sweden, his royal highness the duke of Orleans regent of France, the great duke of Tuscany, the great prince of Tuscany, the duke of Modena, the prince of Parma, the doge of Genoa, the duke of Guastalla, prince Eugene, cardinal del Giudice, cardinal du Bois, and marshal d'Estrees. To mention the great names of our own nation, would be to transcribe the lists of our nobility, and therefore we shall rest this point here, presuming that in few other lives it will be carried further.

The author of a celebrated poem, intituled *Faction Displayed*, who was justly celebrated for giving an ingenious turn to his ill nature; began an early war upon our author. In that poem, he makes his patron Montague, there characterised by the name of Bathillo, describe him thus;

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On Addison we safely may depend,  
A pension never fails to gain a friend ;  
Thro' Alpine Hills, he shall my name resound,  
And make his patron known in classic ground.

Mrs Manley, in her sequel to the *Atalantis*, gives our author's character at large, under the name of Maro, what she says of him, is every way to his advantage, were it not for this ill-natured apostrophe, on seeing him in Sergius's gallery.

“ O pity, that politics and sordid interest, should have carried him out of the road of Helicon, snatched him from the embraces of the muses, to throw into an old withered statesman's arms, &c.”

This withered statesman, whom he had before called Sergius, is the same lord Halifax, mentioned by the foregoing writer. But the severest attack that ever Mr. Addison felt, was from the following verses, bright and piercing as lightning, and as fatally blasting.

Peace to all such ! but were there one whose  
fires,  
True genius kindles, and fair fame inspires ;  
Blest with each talent, and each art to please,  
And born to write, converse, and live with  
ease :

Shou'd

**JOSEPH ADDISON. 61**

Shou'd such a man too fond to rule alone,  
Bear, like the Turk, no brother near the  
throne,  
View him with scornful, yet with jealous  
eyes,  
And hate for arts, that caused himself to  
rise;  
Damn with faint praise, assent with civil  
leer,  
And without sneering teach the rest to  
sneer :  
Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike,  
Just hint a fault, and hesitate dislike ;  
Alike reserv'd to blame, or to commend,  
A tim'rous foe, and a suspicious friend ;  
Dreading e'en fools by flatters besieged,  
And so obliging, that he ne'er oblig'd :  
Like Cato, gives his little senate laws,  
And sits attentive to his own applause :  
While wits and templars ev'ry sentence raise,  
And wonder with a foolish face of praise. •  
Who but must laugh, if such a man there be ?  
Who would not weep, if Atticus were he.

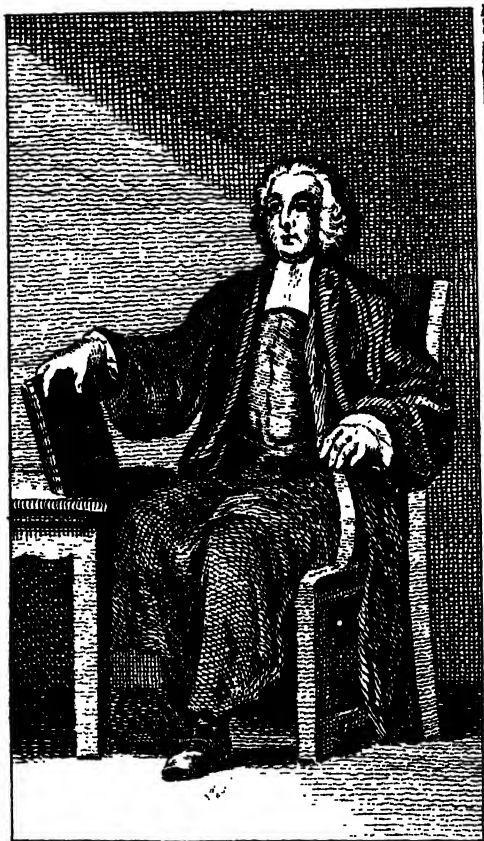
An author in *Mist's* journal, gives the following account of this transaction.

“ Mr. Addison raised this author, i. e. Pope, from obscurity, obtained him the acquaintance and friendship of the whole body of our nobility, and transferred his powerful interest with those great men to this rising bard,  
who

who frequently levied by that means unusual contributions on the public. — No sooner was his body lifeless, but this author, reviving his resentment, libelled the memory of his departed friend ; and, what was still more heinous, made the scandal public.”

In answer to this, it is said, that the whole is false, that Mr. Addison never introduced Mr. Pope to any noblemen, or procured him the subscription of one gentleman ; as to the libel, persons of integrity are appealed to, who saw and approved the foregoing verses, in no wise a libel, but a friendly rebuke, sent in the author's own hand to Mr. Addison himself, and never made public by him, until printed by Curll and others. There is indeed, a letter of the bishop of Rochester's extant, wherein these verses are highly commended, but this is seven years after Mr. Addison's death ; and there is another letter of Mr. Pope's to Mr. Craggs, written near four years before Mr. Addison's death, wherein most of the same thoughts appear in prose.





*Doctor Clarke.*

## THE LIFE OF

## SAMUEL CLARKE.

**D**R. SAMUEL CLARKE, a very learned and eminent divine of the last and present centuries, was born in the city of Norwich, on the eleventh of October, 1675; and educated in the free-school of that place, under the care of the reverend Mr. Burton.

His father was Edward Clarke, esq. alderman of that city, and one of its representatives in parliament for several years: a gentleman of an excellent natural capacity, and untainted reputation for probity and virtue. His mother was Hannah, the daughter of Samuel Parmenter, merchant, of the same city. Mr. Whiston informs us, that Mr. Clarke was so acceptable to the citizens of Norwich, that they chose him, without any solicitation, nay, against his own inclination, to represent them in parliament.

In 1691, he was removed to Caius-college, in Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr. Ellis, afterwards Sir John Ellis. Here his great genius and abilities soon discovered themselves; and, before he was much above twenty-one years



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years of age, he greatly contributed, both by his own example, and his excellent translation of, and notes upon, Rohaut's *Physics*; to the establishment of the Newtonian philosophy.

There have been four editions of it: the first, in 1697, in 8vo; the last, in 1718, in 8vo, under this title, *Jacobi Rohaulti Physica; Latine vertit, recensuit, & uberioribus jam Annotationibus, ex illustrissimi Isaaci Newtoni Philosophia maximam partem hausit, amplificavit & ornavit S. Clarke, S.T.P. Accedunt etiam in hac quarta editione novæ aliquot Tabulæ æri incisæ, & Annotationes multum sunt auctæ.*

Dr. John Clarke, dean of Sarum, and our author's brother, translated this work into English, and published it, in two volumes, 8vo, under the title of *Rohault's System of Natural Philosophy*; which is illustrated with Dr. Samuel Clarke's Notes, taken mostly out of Sir Isaac Newton's *Philosophy*; with Additions. Done into English by John Clarke, D. D. — The motives that induced Dr. Samuel Clarke to translate and comment upon Mr. Rohault, may be seen in the following remark.

When our author came first to the university, the system of Des Cartes was the established philosophy there; though, as bishop Hoadly justly observes, it was no more than the invention of an ingenious and luxuriant fancy; having no foundation in the reality of things,  
nor

nor any correspondency to the certainty of facts.

Mr. Ellis himself, Mr. Clarke's tutor, tho' a very learned man, was a zealot for this philosophy, and, no doubt, gave his pupils the most favourable impressions of what he had so closely embraced himself.

The great Sir Isaac Newton had indeed then published his Principia: but this book was for the few; both the matter and manner of it placing it, out of the reach of the generality even of learned readers; and strong prejudice, in favour of what had been received, working against it. But neither the difficulty of the task, nor the respect he paid to the director of his studies, nor the warmth and prejudice of all around him, had any influence upon his mind.

Dissatisfied therefore with arbitrary hypotheses, he applied himself to the study of what was real and substantial; and in this study he made such uncommon advances, that he was presently master of the chief parts of the Newtonian philosophy; and, in order to his first degree, performed a public exercise in the schools upon a question taken from thence; which surprized the whole audience, both for the accuracy of knowledge, and clearness of expression, that appeared through the whole.

The system of natural philosophy then generally taught in the university, was that written by Mr. Rohault, entirely founded upon the  
Carte-

Cartesian principles, and very ill translated into Latin.

Mr. Clarke justly thought, that philosophical notions might be expressed in pure Latin ; and therefore resolved to give a new translation of that author ; and to add to it such notes as might lead students insensibly, and by degrees, to other and truer notions than could be found there. And this certainly, the bishop observes, was a more prudent method of introducing truth unknown before, than to attempt to throw aside this treatise entirely, and write a new one instead of it.

The success answered exceedingly well to his hopes ; for, by this means, the true philosophy has, without any noise, prevailed ; and to this day his translation of Rohault is, generally speaking, the standing-text for lectures ; and his notes, the first direction to those who are willing to receive the reality and truth of things, in the place of invention and romance.

Mr. Whiston relates, that, in the year 1697, while he was chaplain to Dr. Moore, then bishop of Norwich, he met young Mr. Clarke, at that time wholly unknown to him, at one of the coffee-houses in the market-place of Norwich ; where they entered into a conversation about the Cartesian philosophy, particularly Rohault's Physics ; which Mr. Clarke's tutor, Mr. Whiston says, had put him to translate.

Mr.

Mr. Whiston being asked his opinion concerning the fitness of such a translation, answered,

“ Since the youth of the university must have, at present, some system of natural philosophy for their studies and exercises; and since the true system of Sir Isaac Newton is not yet made easy enough for that purpose; it is not improper, for their sakes, to translate and use the system of Rohault, who was esteemed the best expositor of Des Cartes; but, as soon as Sir Isaac Newton’s philosophy comes to be better known, that only ought to be taught, and the other dropped.”

The last part of his advice, Mr. Whiston tells us, has not been followed; Dr. Clarke’s Rohault being still the principal book for young students in the university. “ Though such an observation (he adds) is no way to the honour of the tutors, who, in reading Rohault, do only read a philosophical romance to their pupils, almost perpetually contradicted by the better notes thereto belonging.”

However, upon this occasion, Mr. Whiston and Mr. Clarke fell into a discourse about the wonderful discoveries made in Sir Isaac Newton’s philosophy; and the result was, that Mr. Whiston was greatly surprized, that so young a man, as Mr. Clarke then was, should know  
so

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so much of those sublime discoveries which were then almost a secret to all, but to a few particular mathematicians.

Afterwards, he turned his thoughts to divinity; and, having taken holy-orders, became chaplain to Dr. John Moore, bishop of Norwich.

His first studies, in order to fit himself for the sacred function, were, the Old Testament in the original Hebrew, the New in the original Greek, and the primitive Christian writers. The first of these he then read with that exactness of judgment, which very few have shewn after a much longer application; and which furnished him with many observations, written at that time with his own hand in the margin, relating to the mistakes of the common translation of it.

The bishop of Norwich being a great patron of learning and learned men, received Mr. Clarke into his familiarity and friendship, to such a remarkable degree, that he lived for near twelve years in that station, with all the decent freedoms of a brother and an equal, rather than an inferior. The bishop's value for him increased every day, and there was no mark of esteem he did not shew him while he lived; and, at his death, he gave him the highest proof of confidence, in leaving all the concerns of his family solely in his hands; a trust which Mr. Clarke executed with the most faithful exactness, and to the entire satisfaction of every person concerned.

Mr.

Mr. Whiston lays claim to the merit of introducing Mr. Clarke to the acquaintance and friendship of the bishop of Norwich. After the conversation mentioned above, which Mr. Whiston gave the bishop an account of, upon his return to the palace, alderman Clarke and his son were, by order of the bishop, invited, and handsomely entertained, by Mr. Whiston at the palace.

The next year, 1698, Mr. Whiston, being collated by the bishop to the living of Lowestoft, in Suffolk, resigned his chaplainship, in which he was succeeded by Mr. Clarke.

In 1699, he published *Three Practical Essays upon Baptism, Confirmation, and Repentance*; and an anonymous piece, intituled, *Reflexions on Part of a Book called Amyntor*.

The whole title of his *Practical Essays* is, *Three Practical Essays on Baptism, Confirmation, and Repentance: containing full Instructions for a Holy Life; with earnest Exhortations, especially to young Persons, drawn from the Consideration of the Severity of the Discipline of the Primitive Church*.

The author, in his Preface, having observed the mistakes men have run into with respect to the great business of repentance and conversion, tells us, his design in these *Essays*, is, “to endeavour briefly to set this great and important matter in its true light, from the analogy of scripture, and from the sense of the purest

purest ages of the primitive church : to shew, that, at Baptism, God always bestows that grace which is necessary to enable men to perform their duty ; and that to those who are baptised in their infancy, this grace is sealed and assured at confirmation ; that, from hence forward, men are bound, with that assistance, to live in the constant practice of their known duty ; and are not to expect, except in extraordinary cases, any extraordinary, much less irresistible, grace, to preserve them in their duty, or to convert them from sin : that, if after this they fall into any great wickedness, they are bound by this to a proportionably great and particular repentance : and that, as the Gospel hath given sufficient assurance of such repentance being accepted, to comfort and encourage all true penitents ; so it has sufficiently shewn the difficulty of it at all times, and the extreme danger of it when late, to deter men from delaying it when they are convinced of its necessity, and from adding to their sins when they hope to have them forgiven."

Bishop Hoadly mentions these Essays, and the Reflections on Amyntor, not to put them upon a level with the author's other performances, but only as having upon them the plain marks of a Christian frame of mind, and as proofs of his knowledge in the writings of those early ages, even at his first setting out into the world.

Mr.

Mr. Whiston esteems these Essays the most serious treatise Mr Clarke ever wrote; and which, with a little correction, will still be very useful in all Christian families. Upon this occasion, Mr. Whiston tells us, he remembers, he once told Dr. Clarke, after he had been once at St. James's, and about the court, That he doubted he was not now so serious, and good a Christian, as he had been in the days of Hermas.

This, he says, Dr. Clarke readily understood to mean the time of his writing these three practical Essays; in which he had very often quoted that excellent, but despised, book of Primitive Christianity, The Shepherd of Hermas.—There have been five editions of these Essays.

The whole title of his Reflexions on Amyntor, is, Some Reflections on that Part of a Book called Amyntor; or, A Defence of Milton's Life; which relates to the Writings of the Primitive Fathers, and the Canon of the New Testament: in a Letter to a Friend.

The author of Amyntor, it is well known, was the famous Mr. Toland: and the propositions maintained therein, which Dr. Clarke thought most to deserve consideration, are these three:

First, That the books ascribed to the disciples and companions of the apostles, which are still extant, and at this time thought genuine,  
and



and of great authority; such as, the Epistle of Clemens to the Corinthians, the Epistles of Ignatius, the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, the Pastor of Hermas, and the Epistle of Barnabas, &c. are all very easily proved to be spurious, and fraudulently imposed upon the credulous.

Secondly, That it is the easiest task in the world, to shew the ignorance and superstition of the writers of these books; that Barnabas has many ridiculous passages; and, by saying, that the apostles, before their conversion, were the greatest sinners in nature, we are robbed of an argument we draw from their integrity and simplicity against infidels: that the Pastor of Hermas is the silliest book in the world; and, that Ignatius says, The Virginity of Mary was a Secret to the Devil; which Dr. Clarke supposes, Mr. Toland cites as a ridiculous saying.

Thirdly, That they, who think these books genuine, ought to receive them into the canon of scripture, since the reputed authors of them were companions and fellow-labourers of the apostles, as well as St. Mark and St. Luke; which is the only reason (Mr. T. ever heard of) why these two evangelists are thought inspired:

These are the principal assertions of the author of Amyntor; in opposition to which, Dr. Clarke advances and maintains, the three following propositions:

First,

First, That, though we are not infallibly certain, that the epistles of Clemens, Ignatius, Polycarp, and Barnabas, with the Pastor of Hermas, are genuine; yet that they are generally believed to be so, upon very great authority, and with very good reason.

Secondly, That, therefore, though they are not received as of the same authority with the canonical books of the New Testament, yet they ought to have a proportionable veneration paid to them, both with respect to the authors, and to the writings themselves.

Thirdly, That, Neither the belief of the genuineness of these books, nor the respect paid to them as such, does in the least diminish from the authority of the New Testament, or tend to make the number of the canonical books uncertain or precarious.

This tract was first published without a name in 1699, and since added to Dr. Clarke's Letter to Mr. Dodwell, &c.

In 1701, he published his Paraphrase on the Gospel of St. Matthew; which was soon followed by those on St. Mark, Luke and John.

Among the many excellent commentaries and expositions upon the books of the holy scripture, there had been none, wherein the text of the New Testament is fully paraphrased with brevity and plainness.

Erasmus's performance of this kind is very elegant and judicious: but his explications are

large, having frequent digressions ; in many places he indulges allegorical interpretations ; and, besides, the beauty of his work is very much lost in our translation.

The eminent and learned bishop Hall wrote a pious exposition upon particular difficult texts ; but, because it was only upon particular texts, the design itself allowed him not to regard transitions, and to make his paraphrase one continued uninterrupted discourse.

Dr. Hammond has, with great pains, collected all the assistances of antient and modern learning ; and, with great success, applied them to the explication of the New Testament. But those who justly admire his great learning and skill in interpreting, yet complain of the obscurity and perplexedness of his stile ; which makes his paraphrase somewhat difficult, and of less general use ; and, besides, it was never printed by itself without his large notes.

Dr. Patrick, bishop of Ely, has, with admirable learning and judgment, brought this way of writing to perfection, in his Paraphrase upon some books of the Old Testament ; and all, who desire to understand the Scriptures fully, will ever wish he had gone through all the writings of the Old and New Testament in the same way.

Others, who have written good Expositions upon the Holy Scriptures, have either made large commentaries, of less general and constant use ; or have insisted chiefly on such critical

tical observations, as are proper only for the learned.

Dr. Clarke tells us, he has “endeavoured, in these papers, to express the full sense of the evangelists in the plainest words; and to continue the sense, without interruption, by the clearest transitions he could. He has all along consulted the best expositors, and selected out of every one what seemed to discover the most natural meaning of the text; and, where any thing remarkable offered itself to his thoughts, different from what he met with in commentators, he set it down in short notes in the margin. But other critical observations he has generally omitted (excepting what use is made of them in the Paraphrase) that he might not swell the marginal notes into a commentary, and trouble the reader with repeating what others had said already.”

Of how great benefit these Paraphrases have been, and always will be, to those English readers, who have sense and goodness enough to be pleased with a just representation of the true meaning of what is recorded in the Gospel, we need not say: and we cannot but express our wishes, that he had pursued his original design, which was to have completed the work upon the whole New Testament. — We are told he had actually begun his Paraphrase upon the Acts of the Apostles; but something accidental interrupted the execution;

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and it is now only to be lamented, that he did not afterwards resume and complete so excellent a work; which his friends often pressed upon him, and to which he would sometimes answer, That it was made less necessary by the labours of several worthy and learned persons, since the publication of his work upon the Four Gospels.—There have been four editions of Dr. Clarke's Paraphrase.

Bishop Moore gave our author the rectory of Drayton, near Norwich, and procured for him a parish in that city; both together of very inconsiderable value; and these he served himself in the season when the bishop resided at Norwich. His preaching was, at first, without notes; and so continued till he became rector of St. James's.

In the year 1704, he was appointed to preach Mr. Boyle's Lecture; and the subject he chose, was, The Being and Attributes of God: in which he succeeded so well, that he was appointed to preach the same lecture the next year; when he chose for his subject, The Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion.

His sermons on these subjects are thrown into continued discourses, and printed together, under the general title of, A Discourse concerning the Being and Attributes of God, the Obligations of Natural Religion, and the Truth and Certainty of Christian Revelation; in Answer to Mr. Hobbs (Spinoza, the Author of The Oracles of Reason) and other Deniers

**Deniers of Natural and Revealed Religion :** being Sixteen Sermons, preached in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, in the years 1704 and 1705, at the Lecture founded by Robert Boyle, esq.

The particular title of the first eight sermons is, *A Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God.*

There having been already published, many and good books, to prove the Being and Attributes of God, our author chose to contract what was requisite for him to say upon this subject, into as narrow a compass, and, to express what he had to offer, in as few words as he could with perspicuity. For which reason, he confined himself to one only method, or continued thread of arguing; which he endeavoured should be as near to mathematical, as the nature of such a discourse would allow; omitting some other arguments, which he could not discern to be so evidently conclusive: "because," to use his own words, "it seems not to be, at any time, for the real advantage of truth,\* to use arguments, in its behalf, founded only on such hypotheses, as the adversaries apprehend they cannot be compelled to grant." Yet he has not made it his business to oppose any of those arguments, because he thought it not the best way, "for any one to recommend his own performance, by endeavouring to discover the imperfection of others, who are engaged in the same design with him-

self, of promoting the interest of true religion and virtue."

Dr. Clarke's Sermons at Mr. Boyle's Lecture were printed in two distinct volumes; the former in 1705, and the latter in 1706. They have been since printed in one volume, and have passed through several editions. In the fourth and fifth editions, were added several letters to Dr. Clarke from a Gentleman in Gloucestershire (Dr. Joseph Butler, afterwards bishop of Bristol) relating to the Demonstration, &c. with the doctor's answers. In the sixth and seventh editions, were added, A Discourse concerning the Connection of the Prophecies in the Old Testament, and the Application of them to Christ; and, An Answer to a Seventh Letter concerning the Argument *à Priori*.

Dr. Clarke having endeavoured to shew, that the Being of a God may be demonstrated by arguments *à Priori* (in which attempt, whether successful or not, surely he may be excused) has unluckily involved the censure a very great wit has passed upon this method of reasoning, in the following lines of the fourth book of his *Dunciad*, which he puts into the mouth of one of his Dunces addressing himself to the Goddess:

Let others creep by timid steps and slow,  
On plain experience lay foundations low,  
By common sense to common knowledge bred,  
And, last, to nature's cause thro' nature led.

All-

All seeing in thy mists, we want no guide,  
Mother of arrogance, and source of pride!  
We nobly take the high Priori road,  
And reason downward, 'till we doubt of God.

Upon which we have the following note :

“ Those, who, from the effects in this visible world, deduce the eternal power and Godhead of the First Cause, though they cannot attain to an adequate idea of the Deity, yet discover so much of him, as enables them to see the end of their creation, and the means of their happiness ; whereas they, who take this high Priori road (as Hobbs, Spinoza, Des Cartes, and some Better Reasoners) for one that goes right, ten lose themselves in mists, or ramble after visions, which deprive them of all sight of their end, and mislead them in the choice of wrong means.”

Mr. Pope would, perhaps, have spared his better reasoners, and not have joined them with such company, had he recollected our author's apology for using the argument à Priori. The argument à Posteriori, he tells us, is, indeed, by far, the most generally useful argument, most easy to be understood, and, in some degree suited to all capacities ; and therefore it ought always to be distinctly insisted upon. But, for as much as atheistical writers have sometimes opposed the Being and Attributes of God by such metaphysical reasonings, as can no otherwise be obviated, than by ar-



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guing *à Priori*; therefore this manner of arguing also is useful and necessary in its proper place.

Bishop Hoadly, speaking of Dr. Clarke's Demonstration, &c. tells us, He has "laid the foundations of true religion too deep and strong, to be shaken, either by the superstition of some, or the infidelity of others."—Thus he "chose particularly to consider the arguings of Spinoza and Hobbs, the most plausible patrons of the system of Fate and Necessity; a system which, by destroying all true freedom of action in any intelligent being, at the same time destroys all that can be styled virtue, or praise-worthy." That, "this being a subject, into which all the subtilties and querks of metaphysics had entered, and thrown their usual obscurity and intricacy; the difficulty lay in clearing away this rubbish of confusion; in introducing a language that could be understood; in clothing the clearest ideas in this plain and manly language; and in concluding nothing but from such evidence as amounts to Demonstrative." That, "He began with self-evident propositions; from them advanced to such as received their proof from the former; and in these took no step till he had secured the way before him." That, "Throughout the whole, no word is used but what is intelligible to all who are at all versed in such subjects, and what expresses the clear idea in the mind of him who makes use  
of

of it." And, that "All is one regular building, erected upon an immoveable foundation, and rising up, from one stage to another, with equal strength and dignity."

Let us hear Mr. Whiston's opinion in relation to this performance of Dr. Clarke's. He tells us, when the author brought him his book, he was in his garden, over-against St. Peter's College, in Cambridge, where he then lived.

"Now I perceived," says he, "that, in these Sermons, he had dealt a great deal in abstract and metaphysic reasonings. I therefore asked him, how he ventured into such subtilties, which I never durst meddle with? and shewing him a nettle, or the like contemptible weed, in my garden, I told him, that weed contained better arguments for the Being and Attributes of God than all his metaphysics. He confessed it to be so; but alledged, for himself, that, since such philosophers as Hobbs and Spinoza had made use of those kind of subtilties against, he thought proper to shew, that the like way of reasoning might be better made use of on the other side of religion. Which reason, or excuse, I allowed not to be inconsiderable.

"As to myself, I confess I have long esteemed such kind of arguments as the most subtle, but the least satisfactory, of all other, whatsoever. And my own opinion is, that,

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perhaps, angels, or some of the orders of rational beings superior to them, may be able to reason a great way *à Priori*, as it is called, and from metaphysics, to their own and others satisfaction ; but I do not perceive, that we men, in our present imperfect state, can do so."

Whatever this honest gentleman can, or cannot, do, it is certain, that Dr. Clarke, and other ingenious men, of clear heads and sound judgments, have reasoned a great way *à Priori* ; and that metaphysical reasoning, in such hands, is not only the most satisfactory, but is the highest and noblest effort of the human understanding.

In his *Discourses On the Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion*, he laid the foundations of morality deep, in the mutual relations of things and persons one to another ; in the unalterable fitness of some actions, and the unfitness of others ; and in the will of the great Creator of all things, evident from his making man capable of seeing these relations and this fitness of judging concerning them, and of acting agreeably to that judgment. He then proceeded to demonstrate the Christian religion to be worthy of God, from its internal evidence, taken from the perfect agreeableness of its main design to the light of nature, and to all moral obligations of eternal reason ; without which agreeableness, all the arguments in the world could never conclude

in its favour; and, after this, to prove it to have been actually revealed to the world by God, from the external evidence of prophecy going before it, and of miraculous works performed in express confirmation of it.

These Sermons, together with those on the Being and Attributes of God, every Christian in this country, as bishop Hoadly well observes, "ought to esteem as his treasure; as they contain the true strength, not only of natural but of revealed religion; which, if ever it be removed from such a foundation, or separated from such an alliance with reason and uncorrupted nature, will not long subsist in the belief of understanding persons after such a separation: and therefore, What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder."

About this time, or not much later, Mr. Whiston tells us, he discovered that Mr Clarke had been looking into the primitive writers, and began to suspect, that the Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity was not the doctrine of the early ages.

Whether Mr. (Sir Isaac) Newton had given Mr. Clarke any intimations of that nature, or whether it arose from enquiries of his own, Mr. Whiston, who gives us this account, cannot directly inform us; though he inclines to the latter. This only he remembers to have heard Mr. Clarke say, that he never read the Athanasian creed, in his parish, at or near Norwich, but once, and that was only by mis-

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take, at a time when it was not appointed by the rubrick.

In 1706, his patron bishop Moore, by his interest, procured for him the rectory of St. Bennet Paul's wharf in London.

The same year, he published his letter to Mr. Dodwell, in answer to that author's Epistolary Discourse concerning the Immortality of the Soul. The whole title is, A Letter to Mr. Dodwell; wherein all the arguments in his Epistolary discourse against the Immortality of the Soul are particularly answered, and the judgment of the Fathers concerning that matter truly represented. Mr. Dodwell's book, against which this is levelled, is intitled: An Epistolary Discourse, proving from the Scriptures, and the first Fathers, that the soul is a principle naturally mortal, but immortalized actually by the pleasure of God, to punishment or to reward, by its union with the divine baptismal spirit. Wherein is proved, that none have the power of giving this divine immortalizing spirit, since the apostles, but only the bishops.

The mischievous tendency of this doctrine, as it was backed by the great name of the author in the learned world, made it more necessary that an answer should be given to what, from another hand, might perhaps have been received as a designed banter upon both natural and revealed religion. Mr. Clarke was thought the most proper person for this work. "And he did it (says the bishop of Win-

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Winchester) in so excellent a manner, both with regard to the philosophical part, and to the opinions of some of the primitive writers, upon whom this doctrine was fixed, that it gave universal satisfaction." But this controversy did not stop here. For Mr. Anthony Collins, coming in as a second to Mr. Dodwell, went much farther into the philosophy of the dispute, and indeed seemed to produce all that could plausibly be said, against the immateriality of the soul, as well as the liberty of human actions.

This opened a larger field of controversy, into which Mr. Clarke entered, and wrote with such a spirit of clearness and demonstration, as shewed him greatly superior to his adversaries both in metaphysical and natural knowledge.

"And I am persuaded, (says bishop Hoadly,) that, as what he has writ in this controversy comprehends the little that the ancients had said well, and adds still more evidence than ever clearly appeared before, and in all words that had a meaning to them; it will remain the standard of good sense on that side of the question, on which he spent so many of his thoughts, as upon one of his favourite points."

Mr. Clarke's piece was soon followed by four defences of it in four several letters to the author of a letter to the learned Mr. Henry Dod-

Dodwell; containing some remarks on a (pretended) demonstration of the immateriality and natural immortality of the soul, in Mr. Clarke's answer to his late Epistolary Discourse, &c.

The same year likewise, he translated Sir Isaac Newton's Treatise of Opticks into elegant Latin.

In the midst of his other labours, he found time also to shew his regard to the mathematical and physical studies, and his exact knowledge and skill in them. And his natural affection and capacity for these studies were not a little improved by the particular friendship of the incomparable Sir Isaac Newton; at whose request, bishop Hoadly tells us, he translated that excellent performance, and sent it all over Europe in a plainer and less ambiguous stile, than the English language will permit. And here it may be proper to add, that, after the death of that great man, Dr. Clarke vindicated his doctrine concerning the proportion of velocity and force of bodies in motion, against the objections of some late mathematicians, in a short, plain, and masterly letter. Nor must it be forgot, that Sir Isaac Newton was so particularly pleased with our author's version of his opticks, that he presented him the sum of five hundred pounds, or one hundred pound for each child, the doctor having then five children.

He was now brought by his patron to court, and recommended to the favour of queen  
Anne,

Anne, who appointed him one of her chaplains in ordinary; and soon after, in consideration of his great merit, and at the request of the bishop, presented him to the rectory of St. James's Westminster: from which time he left off his former way of preaching without notes, and made it his business to compose, and write down, as accurate sermons as he could.

From the time of his taking possession of this living, he resided constantly in the rectory-house; seldom leaving the place, unless for a few weeks in the long vacation, when the town was empty: and during the time of his being rector, besides the regular performance of all the other duties of his profession, he followed the custom of his predecessors, in reading lectures upon the church catechism, every thursday morning, for some months in the year.

Upon his advancement to this station in 1709, he took the degree of doctor in divinity at Cambridge, and distinguished himself upon that occasion by the performance of a remarkable public exercise. The questions on which he disputed were these: I. *Nullum Fidei Christianæ Dogma, in S. Scripturis traditum, est rectæ rationi dissentaneum, i. e.* "No article of Christian faith, delivered in the Holy Scriptures, is disagreeable to right reason." II. *Sine actionum humanarum libertate nulla potest esse religio, i. e.* "Without  
the



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the freedom of human actions there can be no religion."

The doctor's thesis was an elaborate discourse upon the first of these two questions; Dr. James, then royal professor of divinity, a very learned and acute disputant, exerted himself more than usual on this occasion; and, after having sifted every part of Dr. Clarke's Thesis with the strictest nicety, pressed him in all the force of syllogism in its various forms. To the former our respondent made an extempore reply, in a continued discourse for near half an hour; in which, without any hesitation either for thoughts or language, he took off the force of all that the professor had said, in such a manner, that many of the auditors declared themselves astonished, and owned that, if they had not been within sight of him, they should have supposed he had read every word of his reply out of a paper.

After this, in the course of the syllogistical disputation, he gunned so well against the arts, which the professor was master of in perfection; replied so readily to the greatest difficulties such an objector could propose; and pressed him so close and hard with clear and intelligible answers; that, perhaps never was such a conflict heard in the schools; nor any disputation kept up with such spirit, and ended with equal honour to the respondent. The professor, who was a man of humour as well as learning, said to him aloud, towards the end of the disputation, Probe me exacuisti, or  
(as

(as others think) exerciſſi: which was looked upon as a very high compliment, in his humourous way of ſpeaking. And the learned members of the univerſity, who had with pleaſure attended to every part of the diſputation, went away diſcourſing to one another of the unuſual entertainment they had had in the ſchools: and particularly admiring, that, after an abſence of ſo many years, and a long courſe of buſineſs of quite another nature; they heard him now handling the ſubjects he undertook in ſuch a maſterly manner, as if this ſort of academical exerciſe had been his conſtant employment: and with ſuch a fluency and purity of expreſſion, as if he had been accuſtomed to no other language in converſation but Latin. Mr. Whiſton tells us, in the words of an unknown admirer of Dr. Clarke, who was preſent at this famous act, that “every creature was wrapt up into ſilence and aſtoniſhment, and thought the performance truly admirable.”

In the courſe of this act, where I was preſent, adds Mr. Whiſton, profeſſor James, who knew of the intimacy of Dr. Clarke and me, knew alſo that I was a profeſſed Eusebeian, and ſuſpected Dr. Clarke to be a latent one; digreſſed from one of the doctor's queſtions, and preſſed him very hard to condemn one of the opinions I had juſt then publiſhed in my ſermons and eſſays; which book he held in his hand, when he was in the chair. I ſuppoſe it might be this, that our Saviour had no human ſoul,

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soul, but that the divine  $\Delta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ , or word, supplied its place. This was done in such a rude, indecent, and almost profane manner, as occasioned the following tetrastich, which was produced by Dr. Bentley, when Dr. Clarke and I supped with him that very evening :

Tune Mathematicum, male false Jacobe, la-  
cessis,  
Histrio dum ringis serium habere virum ?  
Ludis tu Christum, Dominumque Deumque  
professus :  
Ille colit Dominum, quem negat esse Deum.

Which I have seen thus translated :

And do'st thou, James, with awkward keen-  
ness mark  
Whiston, and scoffing fret at serious Clarke ?  
Thou jest'st on Christ, thy lord and God  
supreme :  
Whiston adores him Lord, but fears him  
God to name.

However Dr. Clarke, who, I believe, had not then particularly examined that point, did prudently avoid the approbation or condemnation of it.

The same year, he revised and corrected Mr. Whiston's translation of the Apostolical Constitutions into English.

Mr.

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Mr. Whiston tells us, that, his own studies being chiefly upon things, and having rendered him incapable of being also a critick in words or languages, he desired his great friend and great critick Dr. Clarke, to revise that translation.

“ We read (says he) a great part of it over together ; as he corrected the rest by himself, and sent me the corrections : some or all of which I have now by me, under his own hand. I perceived their contents made then a very great impression upon him ; though he seemed, I know not how, to have suffered some part of that impression to wear off afterward. When he had revised and corrected the whole, and found about ten or twelve places which he hesitated about, he recommended it to me to go to our great and common friend Dr. Smalridge (with whom my acquaintance commenced about the same time it did with Dr. Clarke, if not a little sooner) for the last correction of those more difficult places : who, as he was a very great admirer of the book itself, so was he pleased to examine and correct my version of it, as to every one of those places. These were the two persons intimated, but not named by me, on this account, in the advertisement to the first of my four volumes of Primitive Christianity revived : where I justly call Dr. Clarke, one excellently skilled in such matters and an accurate hand ;

hand; and Dr. Smalridge, a very learned and judicious person."

In 1712, he published a beautiful edition of *Cæsar's Commentaries*; which is intituled, *C. Julii Cæsaris quæ extant, accuratissime cum libris editis et MSS. optimis collata, recognita, et correctæ: Accesserunt Annotationes Samuelis Clarke, S. T. P. Item indices locorum, rerumque et verborum, utilissimæ.*

It was printed in 1712, in folio; and afterwards, in 1720, in 8vo. It was dedicated to the great duke of Marlborough, at a time when his unparalleled victories and successes had raised his glory to the highest pitch abroad, and lessened his interest and favour at home.

In the publication of this book, Dr. Clarke took particular care of the punctuation, or a proper distribution of each sentence into its constituent members: an exactness too much neglected by learned men, though absolutely necessary for preserving the perspicuity, and even the beauty of an author's language. In the Annotations, he selected what appeared the best and most judicious in other editors, with some corrections and emendations of his own interspersed.

He acknowledges himself very particularly obliged to the learned Dr. Richard Bentley, for the use of a manuscript in the king's library; to the reverend Dr. Robert Carron, for some various readings, transcribed from the Museum of Isaac Vossius; but different from

from those which are inserted in the Amsterdam edition of Cæsar, with the notes of Dionysius Vossius ; and, lastly, to Dr. John Moore, bishop of Ely, for a manuscript, used by Dr. Davis, in his edition of Cæsar, and by him called the Norwich manuscript, bishop Moore being then bishop of Norwich.

Mr. Addison takes notice of Dr. Clarke's folio edition of Cæsar's Commentaries in the following words :

“ The new edition which is given us of Cæsar's Commentaries, has already been taken notice of in foreign Gazettes, and is a work that does honour to the English press. It is no wonder that an edition should be very correct, which has passed through the hands of the most accurate, learned, and judicious writers this Age has produced. The beauty of the paper, of the character, and of the several cuts, with which this noble work is illustrated, makes it the finest book that I have ever seen ; and is a true instance of the English genius ; which, though it does not come the first into any art, generally carries it to greater heights than any other country in the world.”

Soon after this, Dr. Clarke became engaged in a warm controversy, occasioned by the publication of his Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity ; of which notice was taken, and complaint made, by the lower house of convocation. in 1714 : but the affair soon ended,  
upon

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upon the members of the upper house declaring themselves satisfied with the explanations, delivered in to them by the author upon the subject of the complaint.

His Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity was first published in 8vo, in 1712; and afterwards there was a second edition, with some alterations, in 1716. The whole title is, *The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity: wherein every Text in the New Testament, relating to that Doctrine, is distinctly considered; and the Divinity of our blessed Saviour, according to the Scriptures, proved and explained.*

“The subject of this book,” the author tells us, “is a doctrine no way affecting the particular constitution, order, or external government of the church; but, in general, of great importance in religion: a matter not to be treated of slightly and carelessly, as it were by accident only, or after the manner of superficial controversies about words, or of particular occasional questions concerning ambiguous texts; but which ought, when discoursed upon at all, to be examined thoroughly on all sides, by a serious study of the whole scripture, and by taking care that the explication be consistent with itself in every part.”

It is divided into three parts. The first is, *A Collection and Explication of all the Texts in the New Testament, relating to the Doctrine*

trine of the Trinity. In the second part, The foregoing Doctrine is set forth at large, and explained in particular and distinct Propositions. And, in the third, The principal Passages in the Liturgy of the Church of England, relating to the Doctrine of the Trinity are considered.

The bishop of Winchester applauds our author's method of proceeding, in forming his own sentiments upon so important a point.

“ He knew, and all men agreed, that it was a matter of meer revelation ; he did not therefore retire into his closet, and set himself to invent and form a plausible hypothesis, which might sit easily upon his mind : he had not recourse to abstract and metaphysical reasonings, to cover or patronize any system he might have embraced before : but, as a Christian, he laid open the New Testament before him. He searched out every text, in which mention was made of the three Persons, or of any one of them. He accurately examined the meaning of the words used about every one of them ; and, by the best rules of grammar and critique, and by his skill in language, he endeavoured to fix plainly what was declared about every Person, and what was not.

“ I am far from taking upon me,” adds the bishop, “ to determine, in so difficult a question, between Dr. Clarke, and those who made replies to him. The debate soon grew  
very



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very warm, and, in a little time, seemed to rest principally upon him, and one particular adversary, [Dr. Waterland, head of Magdalen-college, Cambridge,] very skilful in the management of a debate, and very learned and well versed in the writings of the antient fathers.

This I hope I may be allowed to say, that every Christian divine and layman, ought to pay his thanks to Dr. Clarke, for the method into which he brought this dispute; and for that collection of the texts of the New Testament, by which, at last, it must be decided, on which side soever the truth may be supposed to lie.

“ And let me add this one word more, that, since men of such thought, and such learning, have shewn the world, in their own example, how widely the most honest enquirers after truth may differ upon such subjects; this, methinks, should a little abate our mutual censures, and a little take off from our positiveness about the necessity of explaining, in this or that one determinate sense, the antient passages relating to points of so sublime a nature.”

His lordship concludes what he had to say upon this subject, with assuring us, that, “ from the time of Dr. Clarke’s publishing this book, to the day of his death, he found no reason, as far as he was able to judge, to alter the notions which he had there professed, concerning the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, towards

towards any of those schemes, which seemed to him to derogate from the honour of the Father, on one side; or from that of the Son and Spirit, on the other.

“ This,” adds the bishop, “ I thought proper just to mention, as what all his friends know to be truth.”

Some time before the publication of Dr. Clarke’s Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, a message was sent him from the lord Godolphin, and others of queen Anne’s ministers, importing, That the affairs of the public were with difficulty then kept in the hands of those, who were at all for liberty; that it was therefore an unreasonable time for the publication of a book which would make a great noise and disturbance; and that therefore they desired him to forbear, till a fitter opportunity should offer itself.

This message Dr. Clarke had no regard to, but went on, according to the dictates of his conscience, with the publication of his book. Since Dr. Clarke’s death, a third edition of this book has been printed, with very great additions, left under the author’s own hand, ready prepared for the press.

As it gave occasion to a great number of books and pamphlets on the subject, written by himself and others, we shall subjoin a list of those published by our author, referring, for the rest, to a pamphlet, intitled, An Ac-

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count of all the considerable Books and Pamphlets, that have been wrote on either Side, in the controversy concerning the Trinity, since the Year 1712 : in which is also contained an Account of the Pamphlets writ this last Year on each side by the Dissenters, to the End of the Year 1719. London, 1720, in 8vo.

Dr. Clarke's Tracts are as follow :

I. A Letter to the Reverend Dr. Wells, in Answer to his Remarks. London, 1714, in 8vo.

II. A Reply to the Objections of Robert Nelson, esq. and of an anonymous Author, [supposed to be Dr. James Knight, vicar of St. Sepulchre's, in London.] against Dr. Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity. Being a Commentary on forty select Texts of Scripture.

III. An Answer to the Remarks of the Author [Dr. Gastrel, bishop of Chester] of some Considerations concerning the Trinity, and the Ways of managing that Controversy. — These two last were published together, London, 1714, in 8vo.

IV. A Letter to the late reverend Mr. R. M. [Richard Mayo] containing Observations upon his Book, intitled, A Plain Scripture Argument against Dr. Clarke's Doctrine concerning the ever-blessed Trinity.

V. A Letter to the Author of a Book, intitled, The True Scripture Doctrine of the  
most

most holy and undivided Trinity, continued and vindicated. Recommended first by Mr. Nelson, and then by Dr. Waterland.—The two last pieces were published together, London, 1712, in 8vo. at the end of a Tract, by another Author, intitled, The modest Plea for the Baptismal and Scripture Notion of the Trinity, &c.

VI. The Modest Plea continued; or, A Brief and Distinct Answer to Dr. Waterland's Queries relating to the Doctrine of the Trinity. London, 1720, in 8vo.

VII. Observations on Dr. Waterland's Second Defence of his Queries. London, 1724, in 8vo.

VIII. Dr. Clarke's Replies to the Author of Three Letters to Dr. Clarke, from a Clergyman of the Church of England, concerning his Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity.—The Letters and Replies were published together, by the author of the Letters, London, 1714. in 8vo.

The complaint above-mentioned was sent to the upper-house, on the second of June, setting forth: "That a book had been lately published, and dispersed throughout the province, intitled, The Scripture Doctrine, &c. and several Defences thereof, by the same author: which book, and defences, did, in their opinion, contain assertions contrary to the catholic faith, as received and declared by the

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reformed church of England, concerning Three Persons, of one Substance, Power, and Eternity, in the Unity of the Godhead ; and tending moreover to perplex the minds of men in the solemn acts of worship, as directed by our established Liturgy," &c.

The bishops returned, for answer, on the fourth of June, That they approved the zeal of the lower house, thought they had just cause of complaint, and would take it into their consideration.

On the twelfth of June, their lordships sent a message to the lower house, directing an extract to be made of particulars out of the books complained of.

On the twenty-third of June, the said extract was accordingly laid before the bishops, disposed under the following heads :

I. Assertions contrary to the Catholic as received and declared by this Reformed Church of England, concerning Three Persons, of one Substance, Power, and Eternity, in the Unity of the Godhead.

II. Passages tending to perplex the minds of Men in the solemn Acts of Worship, as directed by our established Liturgy.

III. Passages in the Liturgy, and Thirty-nine Articles, wrested by Dr. Clarke in such a Manner as is complained of in the Representation.

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Dr.

Dr. Clarke drew up a Reply to this Extract, dated June twenty-six; which, it seems, was presented to some of the bishops; but, for what reason we are not told, was not laid before the house.

After this, there appearing, in almost the whole upper house, a great disposition to prevent dissensions and divisions, by coming to a temper in this matter; Dr. Clarke was prevailed upon to lay before the house, a paper, dated the second of July, setting forth,

“ First, That his opinion was, that the Son of God was eternally begotten by the eternal incomprehensible power and will of the Father.

“ Secondly, That, before his book, intitled, The Scripture Doctrine, &c. was published, he did, indeed, preach two or three sermons upon this subject; but, since the book was published, he had never preached upon this subject: and, because he thought it not fair to propose particular opinions, where there is not liberty of answering, he was willing to promise, as indeed he intended, not to preach any more on this subject.

“ Thirdly, That he did not intend to write any more concerning the doctrine of the Trinity: but, if he should fail herein, and write any thing hereafter, upon this subject, contrary to the doctrine of the church of England,

he did hereby willingly submit himself to any such censure, as his superiors should think fit to pass upon him.

“ Fourthly, That, whereas it had been confidently reported, that the Athanasian Creed, and the third and fourth petitions in the Litany, had been omitted in his church by his direction, he did hereby declare, That the third and fourth petitions in the Litany had never been omitted at all, as far as he knew; and, that the Athanasian Creed was never omitted at eleven o'clock prayers, but at early prayers only, for brevity sake, at the discretion of the curate, and not by his appointment.

“ Fifthly, That, as to his private conversation, he was not conscious to himself, that he had given any occasion for those reports which have been spread concerning him, with relation to this controversy.”

The paper concludes with these words:

“ I am sorry that what I sincerely intended for the honour and glory of God, and so to explain this great mystery, as to avoid the heresies in both extremes, should have given any offence to this synod, and particularly to my lords the bishops. I hope my behaviour, for the time to come, with relation hereunto, will be such, as to prevent any future complaints against me.”

After

After this paper had been laid before the upper house, Dr. Clarke, being apprehensive, that, if it should be published separately, as afterwards happened, without any true account of the preceding and following circumstances, it might be liable to be misunderstood in some particulars; caused an explanation, dated on the fifth of July, to be presented to the bishop of London, the next time the upper house met; setting forth:

“ That, whereas the paper laid before their lordships, the Friday before, was, thro’ haste and want of time, not drawn up with sufficient exactness, &c. he thought himself indispensibly obliged in conscience to acquaint their lordships, that he did not mean thereby to retract any thing he had written; but to declare, that the opinion set forth at large in his Scripture Doctrine, &c. is, that the Son was eternally begotten by the eternal incomprehensible Power and Will, &c. and, that, by declaring he did not intend to write any more concerning the doctrine of the Trinity, he did not preclude himself from a liberty of making any inoffensive corrections in his former books, if they should come to another edition; or from vindicating himself from any misrepresentations or aspersions, which might possibly hereafter be cast upon him on occasion of this controversy.”



After the delivery of the foregoing explanation to the bishop of London, the upper house resolved, on the fifth of July, to proceed no farther upon the extract laid before them by the lower house; and ordered Dr. Clarke's papers to be entered in the acts of that house. But the lower house, not so satisfied, resolved, on the seventh of July, That the paper subscribed by Dr. Clarke, and communicated to them by the bishops, does not contain in it any recantation of the heretical assertions, and offensive passages, complained of in their Representation, and afterwards produced in their Extract; nor gives such satisfaction for the great scandal occasioned thereby, as ought to put a stop to any further examination and censure thereof.

Thus ended this affair; the most authentic account of which we have in a piece intitled, *An Apology for Dr. Clarke; containing, an Account of the late Proceedings in Convocation upon his Writings concerning the Trinity.* London, 1714. in 8vo.

It was written, Mr. Whiston tells us, by a worthy clergyman in the country [supposed to be the reverend Mr. John Lawrence, M. A.] a common friend of his and Dr. Clarke's, and contains true copies of the original papers relating to the proceedings of the convocation and Dr. Clarke; communicated by the doctor himself, and occasioned by his friend's letter to him, in relation to his conduct; which letter,

ter, with Dr. Clarke's answer, is printed in the Apology.

The paper laid by Dr. Clarke before the upper house of convocation, was presently published, by an unknown hand, without the explanation that followed it, the resolution of the bishops consequent thereupon, or the vote of the lower house, which followed that resolution.

This gave occasion to a report, both in writing and printed news-papers, that Dr. Clarke had retracted what he had written concerning the doctrine of the Trinity. Particularly, in the Political State of Great-Britain for June, 1714, were published these words :

“ A few days after,” after the extract was sent up, “ Dr. Clarke thought fit to make a submission to the upper house, and to deliver to their lordships a paper, wherein he promised neither to write nor preach any more upon those abstruse points : whereby an end was put to that portentous affair, And, oh ! that all divines would be as wise, and sacrifice their private opinions to the peace and unity of the church.”

And, in October following, in a book intitled, The History of the First and Second Session of the last Parliament, were published the following words :

“ The upper house of convocation being made sensible, that he,” Dr. Clarke, “ had made a sacrifice of his private opinions to the peace and unity of the church ; and that by this prudent and Christian behaviour,” &c.

About the same time came out several other accounts of the proceedings of the convocation relating to this matter ; most of which seemed to represent Dr. Clarke as having made such compliances, as could not but be a great discouragement to all who placed their religion in a free and impartial study of the Scriptures.— How far Dr. Clarke’s conduct upon this occasion, as represented above, will serve to justify these reports, is left to the reader’s judgment. In the mean time, impartiality obliges us to set down Mr. Whiston’s reflections upon this affair.

He calls Dr. Clarke’s opinion delivered in to the bishops (at the head of the paper, recited above) a New Declaration of his belief of a sort of eternity of the son and spirit ; the delivery of which Declaration he had heard him long stile a foolish thing ; the occasions of which, he thinks, besides the sinister motives of human caution, and human fear, were these two : First, his own metaphysical opinion, which he constantly and vigorously maintained, that any creature whatsoever might possibly have been coëternal with its creator ; and, secondly, that bishop Smalridge, whose opinion was

was chiefly regarded, had dropped some words beforehand, intimating, that, "As to other of Dr. Clarke's metaphysical notions about the Trinity, he did not think it necessary to proceed to their condemnation, provided he would but declare the eternity of the Son of God."

This New Declaration, Mr. Whiston adds, was made, contrary to the wiser advice of Dr. Bradford, who would have had Dr. Clarke rather transcribe some such parts of his own books, as came nearest to the common doctrine, and send them to the convocation, as to far a declaration of his faith: "which (says Mr. Whiston) would have been a method of proceeding, both more honest and more unexceptionable." And Mr. Whiston is of opinion, there is a great deal of truth in what is said, that Dr. Clarke was prevailed upon to deliver in his new, suspicious declaration; the true point (he thinks) being "Save thyself and us:" both of which were by this means obtained.

About the year 1712, Dr. Clarke had a conference with Dr. Smalridge, concerning the Trinity, at Thomas Cartwright's esq; at Aynho in Northamptonshire.

It was proposed, Mr. Whiston tells us, by the former, in order to the conviction of the latter. And if any person in England was able to convince upon that head, he thinks it must have been Dr. Smalridge, who was a thorough master of those original books of

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Christianity, from whence the arguments were to be taken, and who wanted not sagacity nor good will to enforce them. However, if Mr. Whiston is to be credited; Dr. Smalridge failed of success, and the company were generally satisfied that the evidence on Dr. Clarke's side was greatly superior to the other.

In 1715 and 1716, he had a dispute with the celebrated Mr. Leibnitz, relating to the principles of natural philosophy and religion; and a collection of the papers, which passed between them, was published in 1717.

To this collection are added, Letters to Dr. Clarke concerning Liberty and Necessity, from a Gentleman (Richard Bulkley, esq;) of the University of Cambridge; with the Doctor's Answers to them: also remarks upon a book, intitled, A Philosophical Enquiry concerning human Liberty (by Anthony Collins, esq;): This book is inscribed to her late majesty, queen Caroline (then princess of Wales) who was pleased, the bishop of Winchester tells us, to have the controversy pass through her hands, and was the witness and judge of every step of it. And Dr. Clarke, Mr. Whiston informs us, used often to speak with admiration of the queen's marvellous sagacity and judgment in the several parts of the dispute.

It related chiefly to the important and difficult points of liberty and necessity; points in which Dr. Clarke always excelled, and shewed  
a supe-

## SAMUEL CLARKE. 109

a superiority to all, whenever they came into private discourse, or public debate. But, as the bishop of Winchester justly observes, he never more excelled, than when he was pressed with the strength his learned adversary was master of; which made him exert all his talents, to set the subject once more in a clear light, to guard it against the evil of metaphysical obscurities, and to give the finishing stroke to what must ever be the foundation of morality in man, and is the sole ground of the accountableness of intelligent creatures for all their actions.

“ And as this, adds the bishop, was the last of Dr. Clarke’s works relating to a subject, which had been, by the writings of cloudy or artful men, rendered so intricate; I shall take the liberty to say, with regard to all of the same tendency, from his first discourse about the being of God, to these letters, that what he has written to clear and illustrate this cause, does now stand, and will for ever remain, before the world, a lasting monument of a genius, which could throw in light where darkness used to reign; and force good sense and plain words into what was almost the privileged place of obscurity and unintelligible sounds. For such, indeed, had the subject before us been, under the hands of most who had written upon it; either through a desire of darkening it by words without meaning.

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meaning, ~~or~~ through an inability of discoursing clearly and consistently about it."

Mr. Whiston observes, that Mr. Leibnitz was pressed so hard by Dr. Clarke, from matter of fact, known laws of motion, and the discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton (who tells us, that he heartily assisted the doctor), that he was forced to have recourse to metaphysical subtilities, and to a pre-established harmony of things, in his own imagination, which he styles a superior reason; till it was soon seen, that monsieur Leibnitz's superior reason served to little else, but to confirm the great superiority of experience and mathematics above all such metaphysical subtilities whatsoever. "And I confess, adds Mr. Whiston, I look upon these letters of Dr. Clarke, as among the most useful of his performances in natural philosophy."

In 1718, a controversy arose concerning the primitive Doxologies, occasioned by an alteration made by Dr. Clarke in those of the singing Psalms.

This he did in certain select hymns and psalms, reprinted that year for the use of St. James's parish. The alterations were these:

To God, through Christ, his only Son,  
Immortal Glory be, &c.

And,

To God, thro' Christ, his Son, our Lord,  
All Glory be therefore, &c.

A con-

A considerable number of these select psalms and hymns having been dispersed by the society for promoting of Christian knowledge, before the alteration of the doxologies was taken notice of, Dr. Clarke was charged with a design of imposing upon the society; whereas, in truth, the edition of them had been prepared by him for the use of his own parish only, before the society had any thoughts of purchasing any of the copies.

However, the bishop of London thought proper to publish A Letter to the Incumbents of all Churches and Chapels in his Diocese, concerning their not using any Forms of Doxology, dated December 26, 1718. This letter was animadverted upon by Mr. Whiston, in his Letter of Thanks to the right reverend the lord bishop of London, for his late Letter to his clergy against the use of new forms of doxology, &c. dated January 17, 1718. 19; and in a pamphlet, intitled, An humble Apology for St. Paul, and the other Apostles; or, a Vindication of them and their Doxologies from the charge of heresy. By Cornelius Pacts. London 1719.

Soon after came out an ironical piece, intitled, A Defence of the Bishop of London, in Answer to Mr. Whiston's Letter of Thanks, addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury. To which is added, A Vindication of Dr. Sacheverell's late Endeavour to turn Mr. Whiston



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ton out of his church. Mr. Whiston's Letter of Thanks occasioned likewise the two following pieces: viz. The Lord Bishop of London's Letter to his clergy vindicated, &c. By a Believer; London 1719: and A seasonable Review of Mr. Whiston's Account of Primitive Doxologies, &c. By a Presbyter of the Diocese of London (Supposed to be Dr. William Berriman). London 1719. To the latter Mr. Whiston replied in A Second Letter to the bishop of London, &c. dated March 11, 1718-19: and the author of the Seasonable Review, &c. answered him in a Second Review, &c. As to Dr. Clarke's conduct in this affair, Mr. Whiston esteems it "one of the most Christian attempts towards somewhat of reformation, upon the primitive foot, that he ever ventured upon." But he adds, that the bishop of London, in the way of modern authority, was quite too hard for Dr. Clarke, in the way of primitive Christianity.

About this time, he was presented by Mr. Sechmere, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, to the mastership of Wigston hospital in Leicester.

In 1724, he published in octavo, seventeen sermons on several occasions, eleven of which were never before printed. In 1727, upon the death of Sir Isaac Newton, he was offered the place of master of the mint, which he thought proper to refuse.

Upon.

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Upon the offer of this place, he advised with his friends, and particularly with Mr. Emlyn and Mr. Whiston; who were both heartily against it, as what he did not want, as what was entirely remote from his profession; and would hinder the success of his ministry. To which Mr. Whiston added, as his principal reason against it, that such refusal would shew that he was in earnest with religion. Dr. Clarke was himself of the same opinion, and could never reconcile himself to this secular preferment. And it is taken notice of to the honour of Mrs. Clarke, that she never set her heart upon the advantages this place would produce to her family, but left the doctor at full liberty to act as his conscience and inclination should direct him. Mr. Whiston, who particularly mentions this affair, informs us, that Mr. Conduit, who succeeded, gave a thousand pounds to vacate a place among the king's writers; which was given to one of Dr. Clarke's sons.

In 1728, was published, A Letter from Dr. Clarke to Mr. Benjamin Hoadly, concerning The Proportion of Velocity and Force in Bodies in motion. The beginning of the year 1729, he published at London in quarto, the twelve first books of Homer's Iliad.

This edition was dedicated to his royal highness the duke of Cumberland. The Latin version is almost entirely new, and annotations

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notations are added at the bottom of the pages. Homer, the bishop of Winchester tells us, was Dr. Clarke's admired author, even to a degree of something like enthusiasm hardly natural to his temper; and that in this he went a little beyond the bounds of Horace's judgment, and was so unwilling to allow the favourite poet ever to nod, that he has taken remarkable pains to find out, and give a reason for every passage, word, and tittle, that could create any suspicion.

"The translation, adds his lordship, with his corrections, may now be stiled accurate; and his notes, as far as they go, are indeed a treasury of grammatical and critical knowledge. He was called to this task by royal command; and he has performed it in such a manner, as to be worthy of the young prince for whom it was laboured. The praises given to this excellent work by the writers abroad in their memoirs, as well as by the learned masters of the three principal schools of England, those of Westminster, Eton, and St. Paul's; and the short character, that the performance was *supra omnem invidiam*, bestowed by one, whom Dr. Clarke had long before stiled, *criticos unes omnes longe longeque antecellens*, and whom every one will know by that title without my naming him; make it unnecessary to add a word upon this subject."

The

The twelve last books of the Iliad were published, in 1732, in quarto by our author's son, Mr. Samuel Clarke, who informs us, in the preface, that his father had finished the annotations to the three first of those books, and as far as the three hundred and fifty-ninth verse of the fourth; and had revised the text and version as far as verse five hundred and ten of the same book. A second edition of the whole was published in 1735, in two volumes octavo.

This was the last year of this great and learned man's life: for he was taken suddenly ill the eleventh of May, and died on the seventeenth.

The day on which he was taken ill he went out in the morning, to preach before the judges at Serjeant's-inn; and there was seized with a pain in his side, which made it impossible for him to perform the office he was called to, and became quickly so violent, that he was obliged to be carried home. He went to bed, and thought himself so much better in the afternoon, that he would not suffer himself to be blooded; against which remedy he had entertained strong prejudices. But the pain returning very violently about two the next morning, made the advice and assistance of a very able physician absolutely necessary; who, after twice bleeding him, and other applications, thought him, as he also thought himself, to be out of all danger; and

and so continued to think, till the Saturday morning following ; when, to the inexpressible surprise of all about him, the pain removed from his side to his head ; and, after a very short complaint, took away his senses, so as they never returned any more. He continued breathing till between seven and eight in the evening of that day (May 17) and then died.

He married Katherine the only daughter of the reverend Mr. Lockwood, rector of Little Massingham in Norfolk ; by whom he had seven children, two of which died before him, and one a few weeks after him. Since his death, have been published, from his original manuscripts, by his brother Dr. John Clarke, dean of Sarum, *An Exposition on the Church Catechism*, and ten volumes of sermons.

It is made up of those lectures he read, every Thursday morning, for some months in the year, at St. James's church. In the latter part of his time, he revised them with great care, and left them completely prepared for the press. The first edition of them was in 1729.

This performance of Dr. Clarke's was immediately animadverted upon by a very learned divine (Dr. Waterland, head of Magdalen college Cambridge), under the title of, *Remarks upon Dr. Clarke's Exposition of the Church Catechism*. This produced an Answer

swer to the Remarks upon Dr. Clarke's Exposition of the Church Catechism (by Dr. Sykes dean of Burien).

The author of the Remarks replied in a piece, intitled, *The Nature, Obligation, and Efficacy, of the Christian Sacraments, considered; in Reply to a Pamphlet, intitled, An Answer, &c.* As also the comparative Value of Moral and Positive Duties distinctly stated and cleared. The Answerer rejoined, in *A Defence of the Answer, &c.* Wherein the Difference between Moral and Positive Duties is fully stated. Being a Reply to, &c. This occasioned a Supplement to the Treatise, intitled, *An Answer, &c.* Wherein the Nature and Value of Positive Institutions is more particularly examined, and Objections answered. By the same author. Then followed the Answerer's Reply, intitled, *The true Foundations of Natural and Revealed Religion asserted: being a Reply to the Supplement, &c.* Which being animadverted upon by the Remarker in the Postscript to his Second Part of Scripture vindicated, produced *An Answer to the Postscript, &c.* Wherein is shewn, that if Reason be not a sufficient Guide in Matters of Religion, the bulk of Mankind, for a thousand years, had no sufficient Guide at all in Matters of Religion.

The particulars of Dr. Clarke's character are concisely drawn by the masterly hand of Dr. Hare, bishop of Winchester, author of  
Difficul-

Difficulties and Discouragements, which attend the Study of the Scripture, in the Way of private Judgment. What he says, in respect to the character of our author, is as follows :

“ Dr. Clarke is a man, who has all the good qualities, that can meet together, to recommend him. He is possessed of all the parts of learning, that are valuable in a clergyman, in a degree that few possess any single one. He has joined, to a good skill in the three learned languages, a great compass of the best philosophy and mathematics, as appears by his Latin works; and his English ones are such a proof of his own piety, and of his knowledge in divinity, and have done so much service to religion, as would make any other man, that was not under the suspicion of heresy, secure of the friendship and esteem of all good churchmen, especially of the clergy : and to all this piety and learning, and the good use that has been made of it, is added, a temper happy beyond expression, a sweet, easy, modest, inoffensive, obliging behaviour, adorn all his actions; and no passion, vanity, insolence, or ostentation, appear either in what he writes or says: and yet these faults are often incident to the best of men, in the freedom of conversation, and in the writing against impertinent and unreasonable adversaries, especially such as strike at the foundation of virtue and religion.

“ This

“ This is the learning, this the temper, of the man, whose study of the scriptures has betrayed him into a suspicion of some heretical opinions.”

After this short, but comprehensive, character, and what has been already said of Dr. Clarke as an author, we shall add only a few particulars from the accounts given us by bishop Hoadly and Mr. Whiston.

The former, in his character of Dr. Clarke, tells us, The first strokes of knowledge, in some of its branches, seemed to be little less than natural to him ; for they appeared to lie right in his mind, as soon as any thing could appear. He had one happiness, very rarely known among the greatest men, that his memory was almost equal to his judgment. He had so ready a genius, that he immediately comprehended what cost others a great deal of pains ; and was esteemed one of the best judges to apply to, for a quick determination about the force or failure of any arguments. His critical skill in the learned languages he made subservient to the cause of religion, as well as polite learning.

The design and tendency of his preaching, was not to move the passions, nor had he any talent that way ; but then his sentiments and expressions were so masterly, and his way of explaining the phraseology of Scripture so extraordinary and convincing, as more than made amends for his want of the other.



His conversation, which was highly useful and instructive, was attended with a readiness of thought, and clearness of expression, which hardly ever failed him, when his opinion was asked upon the most important and trying questions.

His piety was manly and unaffected ; his charity and benevolence, extensive as the whole rational creation ; and the ruling principle of his heart and practice, a love of the religious and civil liberties of mankind. In a word, his life, when he came into a view of the great world, was an ornament and strength to that religion his pen so well defended.

Mr. Whiston gives us a remarkable example of what bishop Hoadly observes, That the first strokes of knowledge seemed to be little less than natural to him. He had it from Dr. Clarke's own mouth, and it is this :

“ One of his parents asked him, when he was very young, Whether God could do every thing ? He answered, Yes. He was asked again, Whether God could do one particular thing, could tell a lye ? He answered, No : and he understood the question to suppose, that this was the only thing that God could not do. Nor durst he say, so young was he then, he thought there was any thing else which God could not do ; while he well remembered, he had even then a clear conviction, in his own mind, that there was one other thing which God could not do ; viz.  
that

that he could not annihilate that space, which was in the room where they were. Which impossibility now appears even in Sir Isaac Newton's own philosophy.

Mr. Whiston fully agrees to the character above given of Dr. Clarke, by the author of *Difficulties and Discouragements, &c.* with such abatements as the Memoirs he himself has given us of this great man will make necessary. These abatements respecting some part of the Doctor's conduct, impartiality requires us to dwell a little longer on this article.

In the first place, he blames Dr. Clarke for subscribing the articles, at a time when he could not, with perfect truth and sincerity, assent to the Athanasian parts of them. This was at his taking the degree of doctor in divinity.

Mr. Whiston, then professor of mathematics at Cambridge, endeavoured to dissuade him from it; and, when he could not prevail on that head, he earnestly pressed him to declare openly, and in writing, in what sense he subscribed the suspected articles; but he could not prevail on this head either.

Upon this occasion, professor James, who suspected Dr. Clarke of an inclination to heretical pravity, said to him, upon subscribing the articles, He hoped he would not go from his subscription. The doctor replied, He could promise nothing as to futurity, and could only answer as to his present sentiments.

However, Mr. Whiston acknowledges, that Dr. Clarke, for many years before he died, perpetually refused all, even the greatest preferments, which required subscription, and never encouraged those, who consulted him, to subscribe.

In the next place, he objects to Dr. Clarke his not acting sincerely, boldly, and openly, in the declaration of his true opinions, and his over-cautious, and over-timorous way of speaking, writing, and acting, in points of the highest consequence. When Mr. Whiston gave him frequent and vehement admonitions upon this head, his general answer he tells us was, who are those that act better than I do? "Very few of which (says he) I could ever name to him; though I did not think this a sufficient excuse." Lastly, Mr. Whiston is greatly displeased with Dr. Clarke's conduct in relation to the affair of the convocation.

We have already seen some of his reflections upon that event, the event, the account of which he concludes with these words: "Thus ended this unhappy affair; unhappy to Dr. Clarke's own conscience; unhappy to his best friends; and above all unhappy as to its consequences in relation to the opinion unbelievers were hereupon willing to entertain of him, as if he had prevaricated all along in his former writings for Christianity."

This conclusion however, Mr. Whiston owns, was too hasty, and that Dr. Clarke did  
by

by degrees recover part of his former character. We shall finish this remark, and this whole account of Dr. Clarke with observing, that his great abilities and acquirements made him perpetually sought after by all the greatest lovers of virtue and knowledge : and to such a degree, that, through his last years, he could command but very little time for his own studies, even in the morning : that, as he was the darling of the great and powerful, so, in particular, her late majesty queen Caroline, from her first acquaintance with his character to the day of his death, she had of his comprehensive capacity, and useful learning, by very frequent conversations with him upon the most important point of true philosophy, and real knowledge.



THE LIFE OF  
JOHN LOCKE.

**J**OHN LOCKE, the celebrated philosopher, was born at Wrington, in Somersetshire, on the twenty-ninth of August, 1632.

During his infancy, his education was conducted with a paternal care and affection; but with much strictness and severity by his father, who, being bred to the law, was a steward, or court keeper, to colonel Alexander Popham; and, upon breaking out of the civil wars, became a captain of the parliament's army.

Mr. Le Clerc tells us, that our author always spoke of his parents with great respect and tenderness; and took notice of the great care his father had of his education; and particularly approved one part, which he often mentioned of his father's conduct to him, being severe, and keeping him at a great distance, while he was a child, but, that, as soon as he grew up, becoming more familiar by degrees, they lived at last together with the ease and confidence of friends, where no subjection was required; inasmuch that his father  
excused



*John Locke.*



excused himself to him for having once struck him while he was a child, rather out of passion than because he deserved it.

He was a gentleman of probity and oeconomy, and possessed of a competent estate; which yet happened to be greatly impaired, when it came into the hands of this his eldest son, whom, at a proper age, he put to Westminster-school, where he remained till he was nineteen years of age, when he was removed to Oxford; and, being admitted of Christ-church, in 1651, became a student of that college, and distinguished himself by an ingenious epigram upon Cromwell's peace with the Dutch in 1653.

By the terms of this treaty, the Dutch, at the same time that they stipulated not to admit king Charles II. or any other enemy to the commonwealth of England into their territories, had likewise yielded the right of the flag to the English,

So much of the history of this peace was necessary to let us see the full meaning of Mr. Locke's compliment in these verses. They were judged worthy of a place in a collection presented by that university to the protector upon this occasion; and being now not very commonly to be met with, may here justly be expected.



Pax regit Augusti, quem vicit Julius, orbem,  
 Ille sago factus clarior, ille toga.  
 Hos sua Roma vocat magnos, & numina cre-  
 dit;  
 Hic quod sit mundi victor, & ille quies;  
 Tu bellum & pacem populis das, unus utrif-  
 que  
 Major es, ipse orbem vincis, et ipse regis.  
 Non hominem e cælo missum te credimus?  
 unus  
 Sic poteras binos qui superare Deos.

Thus englished by the same hand.

A peaceful sway the great Augustus bore,  
 O'er what great Julius gain'd by arms before:  
 Julius was all with martial trophies crown'd,  
 Augustus for his peaceful arts renown'd.  
 Rome calls them great, and makes them dei-  
 ties,  
 This for his valour, that his policies.  
 You, mighty prince! than both, are greater  
 far;  
 You rule in peace that world you gain'd by  
 war.  
 You, Sir, from Heav'n, a finish'd hero fell,  
 Who thus above two pagan god's excel.

The reader, I believe, will readily grant  
 that neither the poetry, nor the versification in  
 these lines are by any means contemptible when  
 Le

he sees them here separated from those of his fellow students, South and Busby; in which company, it must be owned, they are shewn to a great disadvantage by the editor of the collection now before me. But, whatever poetical talents he was endowed with, it is certain they lay greatly neglected. Some verses which were wrote by him several years afterwards, and prefixed to Dr. Sydenham's *Observationes Medicæ*, are a convincing proof of this.

Having taken, at the regular times, both his degrees in arts, he put himself upon the physic line; to which profession he applied himself with great diligence, and practised therein a little at Oxford; but finding his constitution not able to bear the fatigue of much business, he forbore to push it; and, being highly delighted with the philosophy of Des Cartes, which then began to grow in vogue, he thence took a fancy to that study.

We have advanced this on the sole authority of Le Clerc who very possibly might have it from our author's own mouth. The truth of the case seems to be as follows.

Mr. Locke, by having before his eyes frequent instances of the extravagant abuse that was then made of the scholastic exercise of disputing, had thence hastily taken up an irreconcilable aversion to that method of disciplining youth; which he indulged so far, that it begat in him something like an antipathy to that

branch of Aristotle's philosophy, as consisting, he thought, only of obscure terms, and productive of nothing so much as useless and trifling questions. I venture to call it something like an antipathy, since it appears to have its root in the natural frame of his temper, which was peevish and choleric, too delicate for logical contests.

We are told by one who knew him well, and is far from being suspected in that place of designing any injury to his character, that he had such an abhorrence to professed disputants, whose aim is to carry the victory by puzzling their antagonists with the ambiguity of words; that, whenever he had to deal with that sort of people, if he did not before hand take a strong resolution of keeping his temper, he quickly fell into a passion.

This constitutional abhorrence grew, as is usual, by degrees, into a settled and determined judgment. A remarkable proof of which is seen in the answer he gave to Mr. William Molyneux, who, with a view of introducing our author's *Essay of Human Understanding* into the universities, proposed to him to cast it into the form of the treatises of logic and metaphysics read there.

"That which you propose," says he, "of turning my *Essay* into a body of logic and metaphysics, accommodated to the usual forms, though I thank you very kindly for it, and  
plainly

plainly see in it the care you take of the education of young scholars, which is a thing of no small moment, yet, I fear, I shall scarce find time to do it. You have cut out other work for me more to my liking, and I think of more use. Besides that, if they have in this book of mine what you think the matter of these two sciences, or what you will call them; I like the method it is in better than that of the schools; where I think it is no small prejudice to knowledge, that prædicaments, prædicables, &c. being universally, in all their systems, come to be looked on as necessary principles, or unquestionable parts of knowledge, just as they are set down there.

“If logic be the first thing to be taught young men after grammar, as is the usual method, I think yet it should be nothing but proposition and syllogism. But that being in order to their disputing exercises in the university, perhaps I may think those may be spared too, disputing being but an ill, not to say the worst, way to knowledge.”

It ought to be observed, that the spirit of censuring this part of education in the universities had possessed others, near the time we are now speaking of, as well as our author. Mr. Joseph Glanville, for instance, ventured to rally the pedantry, as he calls it, and boyish humour of it, with a peculiar rankness of wit, calling it a bare formal scheme of empty, airy

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notions, senseless terms, and insignificant words, fit only to make a noise, and furnish matter of wrangling and contention; and declaring often, that his being trained up in that road was of the greatest unhappinesses that had ever befallen him.

In the room of Aristotle's philosophy, he substituted several hypotheses from Cartesius, then called the New Philosophy. It had indeed been for some time universally taught in Holland, and at Geneva, and had captivated many others as well as Mr. Locke, with the charming variety and perspicuity of the stile in which the founder had dressed it up, and which was universally admired, even by those who did not approve all his notions. Neither did our author suffer himself to be misled by these; but, on the contrary, by pursuing his own ideas, became himself, in one subject, as is well known, a master-builder entirely upon his own stock; and, if the spirit of building was first of all infused into him, as seems not improbable, from the spleen; yet he afterwards raised such original works as will immortalize his name.

In 1664, he had an opportunity of going abroad, in quality of secretary to Sir William Swan, who was appointed envoy to the elector of Brandenburg, and some other German princes.

Our author returned the year following to Oxford, where he continued to improve his knowledge

knowledge in philosophy and physic; and, particularly, in 1666, fell in with the scheme that had been lately set on foot by Dr. Plott, of keeping a register of the air, in order to perfect the natural history of that most necessary article of what the physicians call the non-naturals.

He printed this at the end of a posthumous piece of Mr. Robert Boyle's, intitled, *A General History of the Air*, in 1692, 8vo.

Our author calls his paper, *A Register of the Changes of the Air observed at Oxford, by the Barometer, Thermometer, and Hygrometer, from June 23, 1660, to March 28, 1667.*

He had indeed an instinctive cause for making this choice, in the particular infirmity of his own constitution, which was asthmatic; and it is observable, that these histories have been since made excellent use of, towards discovering the qualities of the air, by another gentleman, who laboured also under the like constitutional disorder: but the correctness of this piece appears less marvellous when we consider that our author had this study so much at heart, as to give it a preference to all other parts of natural philosophy.

He was thus employed, when an accident brought him acquainted with lord Ashley, afterwards earl of Shaftesbury. His lordship having an abscess in his breast, under his stomach, occasioned by a fall, was advised to

drink the Astrop waters. In this design he wrote to a physician at Oxford, to procure some of these waters to be ready against his arrival. That physician being called away by other business, transferred his commission to his friend Mr. Locke, who found himself obliged to wait upon his lordship the day after his arrival, to excuse the disappointment of not having the waters ready. Lord Ashley, as his manner was, received him with great civility, declared himself much satisfied with his apology, and, being much pleased with his conversation, upon his rising to take leave, detained him to supper, and engaged him to dinner the next day, and even to drink the waters, (Mr. Locke having expressed some design of doing it shortly) that he might have the more of his company.

From this beginning, that lord became our author's patron; took him into his house; soon after followed his advice in opening the abscess in his breast; would not suffer him to practise physic out of his own family, and among some particular friends; introduced him to several lords of his acquaintance, who shewed him extraordinary respect; and urged him to direct his application chiefly to the subject of politics: all which was evidently calculated, by that most artful statesman, exactly to hit the meridian of Mr. Locke's taste and temper; and he prosecuted his newly-prescribed study with so much success, as to be  
very

very useful to his patron in his most daring designs.

Le Clerc tells us, that three or four of these lords who thus countenanced Mr. Locke, having met at lord Ashley's, rather for amusement than business, after some compliments, very little conversation had passed when the butler brought in the cards. Mr. Locke looked on for some time while they were at play, and then taking his pocket-book, began to write with great attention. One of the company observing this, asked him what he was writing? "My lord," says he, "I am endeavouring to profit, as far as I am capable, in your company; for, having waited with impatience, for the honour of being in an assembly of the greatest geniuses of the age, and having at length obtained this good fortune, I thought I could not do better than write down your conversation; and indeed I have set down the substance of what has been said for this hour or two."

He had no occasion to read much of this dialogue, those noble persons saw the ridicule, and diverted themselves with improving the jest; they presently quitted their play, entered into a conversation more suitable to their characters, and spent the rest of the day in that manner: which Mr. Le Clerc declares, whether it was suitable to his character or not, yet, that it furnishes an illustrious proof of their politeness to him.

In



In 1668, he attended the countess of Northumberland into France ; but an unforeseen accident obliged him, after a short stay there, to return to England ; where he continued to reside with lord Ashley, who having, jointly with some other lords, obtained a grant of Carolina, our author was employed to draw up the fundamental constitutions of that province.

The Latitudinarian spirit of the two following articles in these constitutions gave great offence to the clergy at that time.

“ Art. xcv. No man will be promoted to be a freeman of Carolina, or to have any vote or habitation within it, that doth not acknowledge a God, and that God to be publicly and solemnly worshipped..

“ Art. xcvi. Since the natives of that place, who will be concerned in our plantation, are utterly strangers to Christianity, whose idolatry, ignorance, or mistakes, give us no right to expel, or use them ill ; and those who remove from other parts to plant there, will, unavoidably, be of different opinions concerning matters of religion, the liberty whereof they will expect to have allowed them ; and it will not be reasonable on this account to keep them out ; that still peace may be maintained amidst the diversity of opinions, and our agreement and compact with all men may be duly and faithfully observed ; the breach whereof

whereof, upon what pretence soever, cannot be without great offence to Almighty God; and great scandal to the religion we profess; and also that Jews, Heathens, and other Dissenters from the purity of the Christian religion, may not be scared and kept at a distance from it; but, by having an opportunity to acquaint themselves with the truth and reasonableness of its doctrines, and the peacefulness and inoffensiveness of its professors, may, by good usage and persuasion, and all those convincing methods of gentleness and meekness, suitable to the rules and designs of the Gospel, be won over to embrace and unfeignedly receive the truth. Therefore any seven or more persons, agreeing in any religion, shall constitute a church or profession, to which they shall give some name to distinguish it from others."

Thus this famous instrument stood in the original draught by our author. But some of the chief proprietors probably seeing the great scandal that would undoubtedly be given by putting, as is here done, not only all denominations of Christians, but the wildest sectaries and the foulest heretics, nay even Jews and Pagans, upon the same foot with true christianity, and entitling all equally to the same privileges, without any respect had to the church of England, of which they professed themselves members, thought proper, between these two articles, to insert the following.

Article

Article xvi. "As the country comes to be sufficiently planted and distributed into fit divisions, it shall belong to the parliament to take care for the building of churches, and the public maintainance of the divines, to be employed in the exercise of religion, according to the church of England, which being the only true and orthodox, and the national religion of all the king's dominions, is so also of Carolina, and therefore it alone shall be allowed public maintainance by grant of parliament."

This article being introduced against Mr. Locke's judgment, as he expressly declared, it is no wonder if from thence his affection to the church of England began much to be suspected; and as this opinion was confirmed by several of his subsequent writings, he has been generally placed among the chiefs of the Latitudinarians.

Accordingly not very few years ago, we find Dr. Waterland seating him next to lord Herbert of Cherbury, at the head of Barbeyrac, Le Clerc, &c. and stretching such principles even wider than those his followers.

"But he, says that learned and orthodox divine, speaking of Mr. Barbeyrac, refers us for explication of fundamentals to a noted treatise of Le Clerc's, at the end of Grotius *de veritate religionis christianæ*, A. D. 1709. A Treatise so indefinite and loose, that one  
scarce

scarce knows what it aims at; except it be, that nothing should pass for a fundamental, which has been ever disputed by men calling themselves christians, and professing scripture, however interpreted to be their rule. Which is judging of important truths, not by the word of God soberly understood, nor by catholic tradition; nor by the reason of things, but by the floating humours and fancies of men, as if all christian doctrines were to be expunged out of the list of necessities, which have had the misfortune to be disputed amongst us, and a short creed was to be made out of the remainder. But what if others, with baron Herbert of Cherbury, or with the author of the fundamental constitutions of Carolina, building upon the same principles of latitude, and willing to compound all differences, should advise us to admit nothing for a fundamental, but what all mankind have hitherto agreed in, and for the future shall agree in, Atheists only excepted; where will then at length these presumptuous schemes end?

In 1670, and the following year, he began to form the plan of his Essay upon Human Understanding, but was hindered from making any great progress in that work by other employments, which were found for him by his patron, who in 1672, being raised to the post of lord chancellor, did not forget to let his faithful client share in the fruits of his power, by appointing him secretary of the presentations.

This

This place he held as long as his master kept the great seal; but that being taken from him in November, the year following, our author, to whom the earl had communicated his most secret affairs, fell into disgrace together with him, and afterwards contributed his mite to some pieces, which the earl procured to be published, with a view of exciting the nation to watch the Roman-Catholics, and to oppose the designs of that party. However, his lordship being still president at the board of trade, Mr. Locke had been made, in June the same year, secretary to a commission of that kind, an office which was worth five hundred pounds per annum as long as it lasted; but the commission was dissolved in the year 1674.

Our author had all this while kept possession of his student's place at Christ-church, whither he used not frequently to resort, as well for the conveniency of books, as also upon account of his health, the air of London not agreeing well with his constitution; and, having taken his degree of bachelor of physic on the sixth of February this year, he went the following summer to Montpelier, being apprehensive of a consumption.

At the same time, however, he likewise kept up an acquaintance with several of the faculty, and what his reputation therein, may be known from the testimony that is given of it by the celebrated Dr. Sydenham, who in his book, intituled, *Observationes Medicæ*,  
circa

circa morborum acutorum historiam & curationem, printed in 1676, writes thus :

“ You know likewise how much my method has been approved of by a person who has examined it to the bottom, and who is our common friend : I mean Mr. John Locke, who, if we consider his genius, and penetrating and exact judgment, or the strictness of his morals, has scarce any superior, and few equals now living. Nosti preterea, &c.

This step was not taken without the approbation and advice of his patron, to whom he had, just before his departure, been particularly serviceable in drawing up an extraordinary pamphlet, intituled, A Letter from a Person of Quality\* to his friend in the Country, giving an account of the debates and resolutions in the House of Lords, in April and May 1675, concerning a Bill, intituled, An Act to prevent the dangers which may arise from persons disaffected to the Government.

Our author, we are informed, drew up this letter at the desire of the earl of Shaftesbury, and under his lordship's inspection, only committing what the earl did in a manner dictate to him ; and this indeed is evident, with regard to that part which contains remarks upon the characters and conduct of several of the nobility, since these could be known only to his lordship. But as this reason extends not  
to

to other parts of the same letter, so neither is any doubt suggested by our author's apology, that he did not heartily concur in the gibes, as Mr. Wood calls them, which are unsparingly thrown therein upon the spiritual lords; we shall mention one of these in the bill which goes by the name of the Test Act.

The ministry proposed to make an addition to the corporation oath in these words, I will not at any time endeavour to make any alteration of the government either in church or state. The author of the letter, speaking of this addition, the devising whereof he charges principally upon the bishops, declares in general of the clergy of all religions, that they have trucked away the rights and liberties of the people, in this and all other countries wherever they have had opportunity that they might be owned by the prince to be *jure divino*, and maintained in their pretensions by the absolute power and force they have contributed so much to put into his hands: and that priest and prince may, like Castor and Pollux, be worshipped together as divine in the same temple by us poor lay-subjects, they actually assert that monarchy is *jure divino*. For a proof of the truth of this remark, the editor, in a note upon it, cites a passage from bishop Usher's *Power of the Prince*, and several others also from bishop Sanderson's preface to that Treatise, which seem indeed to be very agreeable to the mind of the Letter-

writer,

writer, and therefore in that view not improperly introduced ; and that is declared by the annotator to be his sole intention, leaving the justice of his author's censure to shift for itself, that so he might not be drawn into the controversy.

Mr. Wood we see calls it a gibing upon the spiritual Lords ; and so far is certain, that almost all the tribe of writers who have affected to give us a cast of their wit upon orthodoxy, have acknowledged this Letter-writer for their master, in copying not only his matter but his manner and expression, not even disdaining to borrow his very words.

As to the two divines quoted by Mr. Des Maizeaux, not to insist in their behalf on the seasonableness and prudence of pressing the doctrine of non-resistance absolutely, at the times when the forementioned treatise was wrote by one, and published by the other ; the first being apparently moved by the sad prospect of misery with which the nation was threatened, from the opposite extreme at the breaking out of the rebellion ; and the second still more moved with the actual feeling of that misery from which the nation was then scarcely well recovered.

To pass by, I say, these and such like topics, which candour prompts in their defence, it is observable, that if we hearken to the author of the letter in question, we shall be obliged to confess, that nothing but these  
could



could be the true motive both of writing and publishing that book, since it follows from his own argument, compared with other parts of their own writing and publishing that book, since it follows from his own argument, compared with other parts of their writings, that they knew as well as he, that their monarch was no such divinity as he charges them with asserting.

Thus far our letter-writer we see declares, that episcopacy was founded by the clergy upon the *jure divino* equally with monarchy; but it is well known, that both these bishops expressly maintained, that episcopacy, as maintained in the church of England, was not *jure divino*; whence it necessarily follows, from this way of reasoning, that monarchy also, as established in the state of England, was equally maintained by them not to be *jure divino*.

'Tis not the design of this remark to take any side in a dispute which has now been long worn out, much less to defend the doctrine of absolute non-resistance from those absurdities which inseparably attend it in all ages. But our business is to represent every fact that comes in the course of these memoirs impartially as we find it, after the best inquiry which we are able to make, and in the present instance, if the fact is found to turn out in favour of the two mentioned bishops, that disdain which appears in relating it, may be thought  
not

not improper in the view of testifying a real hearty concern for the cause of truth in general, on what side soever it stands.

At Montpelier, our author fell into the acquaintance of Mr. Thomas Herbert, afterwards earl of Pembroke, to whom he communicated his design of writing his Essay on Human understanding, which now chiefly employed his thoughts. From Montpelier he went to Paris, where he contracted a friendship with Mr. Juskel, at whose house he then saw Mr. Guenelon, a celebrated physician at Amsterdam, who held anatomical conferences there with great reputation.

It was now also, that the familiarity commenced betwixt him and Mr. Toignard, by whom he was favoured with a copy of his *Harmony of the Gospels*, when there were no more than five or six of them complete. Upon the discovery of the Popish plot, the earl of Shaftesbury was again taken into favour at court, and made president of a new council, erected by his majesty in 1679.

This new turn occasioned him to send for Mr. Locke; but his lordship happening to be laid aside again in less than half a year, had no opportunity of serving him in that post. Notwithstanding this, our author continued unalterably attached to his patron in all the traverses of his fortune; and, in 1682, when that nobleman escaped a prosecution for high-treason, by flying into Holland, Mr. Locke followed

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followed him thither, and conveyed away with him several letters and writings without being searched ; Mr. Le Clerc also informs us, that Mr. Locke gave his assistance in some pieces published by the earl of Shaftesbury after his disgrace, and after the earl's flight, did not think himself safe in England ; and we shall see in the next remark his conduct had for some time before been strictly watched by Dean Fell ; neither upon the death of his patron, which happened soon after, did he think proper to return home, where he knew his conduct had created him some powerful enemies.

He had not been a year in Holland, when he was accused at the English court of having written certain tracts against the government ; and though another person was afterwards discovered to be the author, yet being observed to join in company with several English malecontents at the Hague, this conduct was communicated to our resident there to the earl of Sunderland, then secretary of state ; who acquainting the king therewith, his majesty ordered the proper methods to be taken for expelling him from the college, and application to be made for that purpose to bishop Fell the dean ; In obedience to this command the necessary information was given by his lordship, who at the same time wrote to our author, to appear and answer for himself, on the first of January ensuing ; but, immediately receiving

receiving an express command to turn him out, was obliged to comply therewith, and accordingly Mr. Locke was removed from his student's place on the sixteenth of November, 1684.

As this affair has been differently represented, even by authors of repute, we shall lay before the reader the fact, as it appears from the several letters wrote on the occasion : The first, from Sunderland to the bishop, runs thus ;

Whitehall, November 6, 1684.

“ The king having been given to understand, that one Locke, who belonged to the late earl of Shaftesbury, and has, upon several occasions behaved himself very factiously against the government, is a student of Christ-church ; his majesty commands me to signify to your lordship, that he would have him removed from being a student ; and that, in order thereunto, your lordship would let him know the method of doing it, &c.”

To this the bishop answered in these terms, November 8.

“ Mr. Locke being a great friend of the late earl of Shaftesbury, and being suspected not to be well affected to the government, I have had my eye over him for several years ;

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but he has always been so much upon his guard, that after several strict enquiries, I can confidently assure you, there is no person in our college, how familiar soever with him, that has heard him say any thing against the government, or that any ways concerns it. And, though we have often designedly given him occasion, in public and private discourse, to talk of the earl of Shaftesbury, by speaking ill of him, his party, and designs; yet we could never see, either by his words or looks, that he thought himself at all concerned in the matter: so that we believe there is not a man in the world so much master of his tongue and passion as he is \*.

\* He has a physic place here which frees him from the exercise of the college, and the obligation which others have to residence in it; and he is now abroad for want of health: but, notwithstanding this, I have summoned him to return home; which is done with this proviso, that, if he comes not back, he will be liable to expulsion for contumacy; and, if he does, he will be answerable to the law for that which he shall be found to have done amiss; it being probable, that, though he may have been thus cautious here, where he knew him-

\* Le Clerc observes, that this command of his temper was the more extraordinary, as Mr. Locke was by nature a little hasty; but that he perceived their design to trepan him.

self suspected, he has laid himself more open at London, where a general liberty of speaking was used, and where the execrable designs against his majesty and his government were managed and pursued.

“ If he don't return by the first of January, which is the time limited to him, I shall be enabled, of course, to proceed against him to expulsion: but, if his method seem not effectual, or speedy enough, and his majesty, our founder and visitor, shall please to command his immediate removal, upon the receipt thereof, directed to the dean and chapter, it shall accordingly be executed by,

“ Your lordships,” &c.

To this the following was received, dated November 12, inclosed in a letter from the secretary, and addressed to the dean and chapter.

“ WHEREAS we have received information of the factious and disloyal behaviour of Locke, one of the students of that our college, we have thought fit hereby to signify our will and pleasure to you, that you forthwith remove him from his student's place, and deprive him of all rights and advantages thereunto belonging; for which this shall be your warrant. And so we bid you heartily farewell.

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“ Given at our court of Whitehall, the 11th of November, 1684.

“ By his majesty's command,

“ SUNDERLAND.”

The bishop answered thus,

November' 16.

“ Right honourable,

“ I hold myself bound to signify to your lordship, that his majesty's command for the expulsion of Mr. Locke from this college is fully executed.”

Upon these letters, Le Clerc observes, that the bishop, in what he wrote, without doubt, designed to serve Mr. Locke, for whom he had always a respect and kindness, as appears from his immediately, on the receipt of the first letter, sending for Mr. Tyrrel, who was Mr. Locke's friend, to speak with him about it. On the other hand, a late writer cites the letters, as an evident proof, that the bishop was capable of some excesses, in some cases, where the interest of party could bias him.

The letters, as here seen, need no comment to clear his conduct from both these misrepresentations; and sufficiently shews the mistake of Le Clerc, on the one hand, who, willing to have the virtuous and learned dean, as he styles him, for his friend's patron, tells us, he  
was

was convinced of Mr. Locke's innocence; and the no less mistake, on the other hand, of Dr. Birch, who calls this, his, the dean's, expulsion of Mr. Locke.

Upon the accession of king James II. to the throne, Sir William Pen, the famous Quaker, procured the promise of a pardon for our author, whom he had known at Christ-Church; but his fellow-collegian declined the acceptance of that offer, alledging, that he had no occasion for a pardon, not being guilty of any crime.

In May, 1685, the English envoy at the Hague demanded him to be delivered up by the states-general, upon suspicion of his having been concerned in the duke of Monmouth's invasion. This obliged him to lie concealed near twelve months, till it became sufficiently known, that he had no hand in that enterprise.

During this privacy, which, by the assistance of some friends, was rendered very secure from any danger of discovery, he composed his first letter upon Toleration; which being translated from the Latin original into English and Dutch, and twice printed at London, in 1690, was attacked the same year by Mr. Jonas Proast, chaplain of All-souls College, Oxford, in a piece, intituled, *The Argument of the Letter concerning Toleration briefly considered and answered.* Oxford, 1690, 4to.

He rejoined, in *A Third Letter for Toleration*, in 1692, containing three hundred and



fifty pages in quarto. This letter is dated on the twenty-ninth of June. In it he declares his opinion concerning the miracles of the primitive church as follows.

“ And so I leave you,” says he to his antagonist, “ to dispute the credit of ecclesiastical writers as you shall think fit ; and by your authority to establish and invalidate theirs as you please. But this I think is evident, that he who will build his faith or reasonings upon miracles delivered by church historians, will find cause to go no farther than the apostles times, or else not stop at Constantine’s ; since the writers after that period, whose word we take as unquestionable in other things, speak of miracles in their time with no less assurance than the fathers before the fourth century ; and a great part of the miracles of the second and third centuries stand upon the credit of the writers of the fourth : so that sort of argument, which takes and rejects the testimony of the ancients at pleasure as it may best suit with it, will not have much force with those who are not disposed to embrace the hypothesis without any arguments at all.”

¶ We find the following passage inserted in the Preface to *An Enquiry into the Miraculous Powers, &c.* printed in 1648, in 4to. by Dr. Convers Middleton, who there gives this eulogium of our author.

“ It

"It was an unexpected satisfaction to me," says the doctor, "to be informed lately by a friend, That Mr. Locke had many years ago declared the same opinion with mine concerning the miracles of the primitive church; which I shall offer the reader in his own words, being persuaded that the authority of so eminent a writer, and so singularly qualified by his talents and studies to discern the exact relations and consequences of things, will add great weight and confirmation to the cause which I am here defending."

Le Clerc had once designed to translate the second and third letters into French, but forbore it; being, as he says, of opinion, that the first, which he had before translated into that language, was sufficient to inform us of Mr. Locke's sentiments. This is so very true, that it is in the first alone that his real sentiments are to be found; and not at all in the two subsequent ones, as is suggested by Mr. Warburton, who, speaking in defence of assuming a personal character on proper occasions, says,

"When the dispute is above the practical obligation of some truth, to the good of a particular society, there it is fair to take up a suitable character, and argue *ad hominem*, for there the end is a benefit to be gained for that society: and it is not of so great moment,

what principles the multitude is prevailed with to make the society happy, as it is that it should speedily become so. A famous example," continues he, "will illustrate this observation. Our great British philosopher, writing for religious liberty, combats his intolerant adversary quite through the controversy, with his own principles; well foreseeing, that, at such a time of prejudice, arguments built on received opinions would have greatest weight, and make quickest impressions on the body of the people, whom it was his business to gain."

Whether Mr. Locke was indeed blessed with such a foresight, in this case, as is here ascribed to him, we need not determine; but his apologist, however, does him the justice to acknowledge, that he observed a contrary, plain, and direct conduct in managing his dispute with Dr. Stillingfleet.

But he spent the chief part of his time in this retirement by finishing his Essay upon Human Understanding; and sometimes amused himself with making extracts of books to be inserted in the *Bibliothèque Universelle*.

Towards the latter end of the year 1686, he appeared again in public, and, in the following year, he formed a weekly assembly at Amsterdam, with messieurs Limborch and Le Clerc, who were joined by some others, in the view of holding conferences upon subjects of learning.

These

These two divines were among our author's first friends in Holland, and he held a correspondence with both of them till the day of his death; not long after which there came out several letters that had passed between him and the former, whereby it appears, that Mr. Limborch was very serviceable to our author, as well with respect to some improvements in his Essay on Human Understanding, as to his Reasonableness of Christianity; and, on the other hand, these favours were repaid by Mr. Locke in procuring him archbishop Tillotson's assistance in his history of the inquisition, which was afterwards dedicated by that author to his grace. As to Mr. Le Clerc, the dedication of his Ontologia to our author, shews the profound esteem he had for him; and soon after came out the causes of incredulity.

About the end of this year, he finished the forementioned Essay, after having spent more than nine years upon it. At the same time he also made an abridgement of that work in English.

It is a little remarkable, that Sir Isaac Newton's Principia was finished about the same time with Mr. Locke's Essay; both the works introduced a new and the only true way of philosophising grounded upon experience and observation, and both effectually overthrowing the philosophy of Des Cartes, one with regard to the great system of the world, and the other in the system of man.

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As the natural history of human understanding was handled in a manner entirely new, wherein nothing was advanced but upon observation and experience, and the whole thrown into a method quite different from that of the schools, and recommended by an easy and handsome stile, it presently gained many admirers.

However, among the crowd of those which the essay met with, there were found some persons who could not digest several notions started in it; and among these, was Dr. William Sherlock, master of the Temple, who attacked it in a Digression concerning Connate Ideas, in the third section of the second chapter of his Discourse concerning the Happiness of Good Men, and Punishment of the Wicked in the next World, 1704, 8vo. But of all those who made their appearance in our author's life-time, he took no public notice, and in the mean time, did not spare to make himself merry at their expence among his intimates.

As the turn of his wit and rally on these occasions makes a part of the character of his genius, we shall insert the following specimen, Mr. Collins having sent him some extracts from Dr. Sherlocks book, he returned this answer.

The samples you have given me, I must acknowledge, from the abilities of the author

author, to be very excellent. But what shall I be the better for the most exact and best proportioned picture that ever was drawn, if I have not eyes to see the correspondence of the parts. I confess the lines are too subtle for me, and my faculties cannot perceive their connection. I am not envious, and therefore shall not be trouble, if others shall find themselves instructed in so extraordinary and sublime a way of reasoning. I am content with my own mediocrity; and, tho' I call the thinking faculty in me mind, yet I cannot, because of that name, call in any thing of that infinite and incomprehensible being, which, for want of right and distinct conceptions, is called God, also on the eternal mind. I endeavour to make the best use I can of every thing, and therefore, though I am in despair to be the wiser for this learned instructor, yet I hope I shall be the merrier for them, when I take the air in the calash together."

We see our author was not defective in this ingredient of happiness, and no doubt he died in perfect good humour with himself, as to the design and usefulness of his Essay. But it may be doubted, whether this serenity might not have been ruffled, had he lived to see that monument of his fame attacked with much keener weapons, and by a person of much nearer concern to him than was the dean of St. Paul's. I believe the reader is before-hand

with me in pointing out the man, and fixing upon the earl of Shaftesbury.

That noble author, in some directions which he gave to a young student at Oxford, designed for the church, having observed that Dr. Tindal's principles, whatever they may be as to church government, are, in respect of philosophy and Theology, far wide from those of the author of the rhapsody, proceeds thus ;

“ In general, truly, it has happened, that all those they call free-writers now a-days have espoused those principles, which Mr. Hobbes set on foot in the last age. Mr. Locke, as much as I honour him on account of his other writings, viz. on government, policy, trade, coin, education, toleration, &c. and, as well as I knew him\*, and can answer for his sincerity as a most zealous Christian believer, did, however, go in the self same track, and is followed by the Tindals, and all the other ingenious free authors of our time. It was Mr. Locke that struck the home blow ; for Mr. Hobbes's character, and base slavish principles in government, took off the point of his philosophy. It was Mr. Locke that struck at all fundamentals, threw all order out of the world, and made the very ideas of these, which are the very same as those of God, un-

\* Our author had a share in the education of this nobleman, who was grandson to his patron.

natural and without foundation in our minds. Innate is a word he poorly plays upon. The right word, though less used, is connatural. For what has birth, or progress of the *fœtus* out of the womb, to do in this case? The question is not about the time the ideas entered, or the moment that one body came out of the other, but whether the constitution of men be such, that, being adult and grown up, at such and such a time, sooner or later, no matter when, the idea and sense of order, administration, and a God, will not infallibly, unavoidably, necessarily, spring up in them. Then comes the credulous Mr. Locke, with his Indian Barbarian stories, of wild nations that have no such idea, as travellers, learned authors, and men of truth, and great philosophers, have informed him: not considering, that this is but a negative upon a hear-say, and so circumstantiated, that the faith of the Indian denier may be as well questioned, as the veracity or judgment of the relater, who cannot be supposed to know sufficiently the mysteries and secrets of these Barbarians, whose language they but imperfectly know, and to whom we good Christians have, by our little mercy, given sufficient reason to conceal from us, as we know particularly in respect to simples and vegetables; of which, though we got the Peruvian bark, and some other noble remedies, yet it is certain, that, through the cruelty of the Spaniards, as they have owned themselves, many secrets in medicinal affairs have



have been suppressed. But Mr. Locke, who had more faith, and was more learned in modern wonder-writers than ancient philosophy, gave up an argument for the deity, which Cicero, though a professed sceptic, would not explode, and which even the chief of the atheistic philosophers anciently acknowledged, and solved only by their *primus in orbe Deos fecit timor*. Thus virtue, according to Mr. Locke, has no other measure, law, or rule, than fashion and custom ; morality, justice, equity, depend only on law and will ; and God, indeed, is a perfect free agent in his sense, that is, free to any thing that is however ill ; for, if he wills it, it will be made good, virtue may be vice and vice virtue in its turn, if he pleases ; and thus neither virtue nor vice, right nor wrong, are any thing in themselves ; nor is there any trace or idea of them naturally imprinted on human minds. Experience and our catechism teach us all. I suppose, 'tis something of like kind which teaches birds their nests, and how to fly the minute they have full feathers. Your Theocles, whom you commend so much, laughs at this ; and, as modestly as he can, asks a Lockean, whether the idea of woman (and what is sought after in woman) be not taught also by some catechism, and dictated to the man. Perhaps, if we had no schools of Venus, nor such horrid lewd books or lewd companions, we might have no understanding of this, 'till we were taught by our parents ; and if the tradition  
 should

should happen to be lost, the race of mankind might perish in a sober nation.—This is very poor philosophy: but the gibberish of the schools for these several centuries has, in these latter days of liberty, made any contrary philosophy of good relish, and highly savoury with all men of wit, such as have been emancipated from that egregious form of intellectual bondage.”

Thus did this spirited author let fly some of his most pointed rallery, against our opposer of innate ideas; nor was this the only time that he entertained himself with making Mr. Locke's Essay the subject of his ridicule. 'Tis true, our author had then been many years in his grave; but his fame was still alive and flourishing, and his memory found a champion, who, many years also after his lordship was in that place of profound silence, having observed that Mr. Locke had some share in his education, was not afraid to rebuke him under the character of Mr. Locke's pupil, in the following very gross terms.

“ The spite he bore his master is inconceivable. He did not disdain to take up with those vulgar calumnies that Mr. Locke had again and again confuted. Some even of our most admired philosophers had fairly told us, that virtue and vice had, after all, no other law or measure than meer fashion and vogue. The case is this; when Mr. Locke reasons  
against

against innate ideas, he brings it as an argument against them, that virtue and vice in many places were not regulated by the nature of things, which they must have been, were there such innate ideas, but by meer fashion and vogue. Is this, then, fairly told of our admired modern philosopher? But it was crime enough, that he laboured to overthrow innate ideas, things that the noble author understood to be the foundation of his moral sense. In vain did Mr. Locke incessantly repeat, that the divine Law is the only true touch-stone of moral rectitude; this did but increase his pupil's resentment, who had all his faculties so possessed with the moral sense, as the only true touch-stone of moral rectitude, that, like the knights-errant of old, he stood up challenger against all opposers for the superior charms of his idol. But the whole Essay itself, one of the noblest, the usefulest, the most original, books the world ever saw, cannot escape his ridicule. In reality, says he, how specious a study, how solemn an amusement, is raised from what we call philosophical speculation! The formation of ideas, their compositions, comparisons, agreement, and disagreement! Why do I concern myself in speculations about my ideas? What is it to me, for instance, to know what kind of idea I can form of space, divide a solid body, &c. ? And so he goes on in Mr. Locke's own words; and, lest the reader should not take the story, a note at the bottom of the page informs us, that

that these are the words of the particular author cited.——But the invidious remark in this quotation surpasses all credit.——Thus the Antomist or Epicurean. The Free-thinkers after this can never sure upbraid us with our flippancy, in giving the titles of Deist and Atheist to those we do'nt like, when the very hero of their cause is taken in the fact."

In 1619, he published in Latin his first letter concerning Toleration; and, in February the same year, he returned to England in the fleet which convoyed the princess Orange to her consort. Not long after his arrival, he put in a claim to his student's place at Christ-church, but that society rejected his pretensions, as the proceedings in his deprivation were conformable to their statutes.

However, he had an offer of being admitted a supernumary student, which he did not think proper to accept. As he was looked upon to be a sufferer for the principles of the revolution, he might easily have obtained a very considerable post; but he contented himself with that of commissioner of Appeals, worth about two hundred pounds a year, which was procured for him by the lord Mordaunt, afterwards earl of Monmouth, and then of Peterborough.

About the same time he was offered to go abroad in a public character; and it was left

to his choice, whether he would be envoy at the court of the emperor, that of the elector of Brandenburg, or any other, where he thought the air most suitable to him ; but he waved all these on account of the ill state of his health, which disposed him gladly to accept another offer that was made him by Sir Francis Masham and his lady, of an apartment in their country-seat, at Oates, in Essex. This situation proved, in all respects, so agreeable to him, that he spent a great part of the remainder of his life at it.

In 1690, he published *Two Treatises of Civil Government*, in defence of the revolution ; the whole title of which runs thus : *Two Treatises of Government*,

In the Former, the False Principles and foundation of Sir Robert Filmer and his followers are detected and overthrown. The Latter, is an Essay concerning the true original Extent and End of Civil Government.—In the Preface, our author tells us,

“ This was only the beginning and end of a discourse concerning government; what fate has otherwise disposed the papers that should have filled up the middle, and were,” says he, “ more than all the rest, is not worth while to tell thee. If these papers have that evidence I flatter myself is to be found in them, there will be no great miss of those which are lost ; and my reader may be satisfied without them :

them: for, I imagine, I shall have neither time nor inclination to repeat my pains, and fill up the wanting part of my answer, by tracing Sir Robert Filmer again through all the windings and obscurities which are to be met with in the several branches of his wonderful system."

The same year came out also his Essay on Human Understanding, in folio; nor was the year expired, when he sent his Letter to Edward Chipley, esq. upon the subject of Education. This piece was not printed till 1693, when it came out under the title of *Some Thoughts concerning Education*, in a Letter, &c. in 8vo.

Our author wrote the substance of it many years before, in Holland. Mr. Molyneux, in a letter, dated March 2, 1692, having mentioned his promise of publishing it, together with the particular joy that promise had given him, on account of the education of his own son, proceeds thus:

"My brother (Dr. Molyneux) has sometimes told me, that, whilst he had the happiness of your acquaintance at Leyden," which was seven or eight years before, "you were upon such a work as this I desire: and that too, at the request of a tender father for the use of his only son."

To this Mr. Locke answers,

"That

“ That which your brother tells you is not wholly besides the matter; the main of what I now publish, is but what is contained in several letters to a friend of mine, the greatest part whereof were writ out of Holland.”

He printed a third edition, with additions, in 1698. It came out likewise after our author's death, with a great many more additions. Mr. Peter Coste, who had translated the piece into French, and published it with this title, *De l'Education des Enfants*, Amsterdam, 1695, 12mo. afterwards revised his translation, and, inserting the posthumous additions, together with a considerable number of passages added by himself from Montaigne, by way of explanation of Mr. Locke's sentiments, published the whole at Amsterdam in 1721, 8vo.

Another edition from that of Amsterdam had been printed at Paris, in 1708, and a translation of this book into Low-Dutch was also printed at Rotterdam, in 1698, 8vo.

Our author appears to have the success of his method much at heart, and had a great opinion of it: which he expresses to his friend Mr. Molyneux in the following manner.

“ I am extremely glad to hear, that you have found any good effects of my method on your son. I should be glad to hear the particulars; for, though I have seen the success of it,

it, in the child of the lady in whose house I am, whose mother has taught him Latin, without knowing it herself when she began, yet I would be glad to have other instances; because some men, who cannot endure any thing should be mended in the world by a new method, object, I hear, that my way of education is unpracticable. But this I can assure you, that the child above-mentioned, but nine years old in June last, is now reading Quintus Curtius with his mother; understands geography and chronology very well, and the Copernican system of our vortex; is able to multiply well, and divide a little; and all this without ever having had one blow for his book."

We see here his method had been, from its appearance, objected to as unpracticable, nor has any subsequent experience cleared it from the same censure.

As the ill state of the silver coin employed every body's thoughts at this time, and indeed was become a national concern of the last importance, our author appeared in this public cause; and, in 1691, printed *Some Considerations of the Consequences of lowering of Interest, and raising the Value of the Money*, in a Letter sent to a Member of Parliament.

This being taken notice of by the ministry, when that affair began to grow ripe for execution, in 1695, he was consulted upon the occasion;



oasion; when he started an expedient for supplying the necessities of commerce, and the exigencies of the people during the recoinage; which was approved and recommended by the lord Somers. Hereupon king William observing him to be very capable of serving the public, appointed him that year one of the commissioners of trade and plantations. By this means he became engaged in the immediate service of the state; and, with regard to that of the church, in order to promote the scheme which his majesty had much at heart, of a comprehension with the Dissenters, he published, the same year, his *Treatise*, intituled, *The Reasonableness of Christianity*, as delivered in the Scriptures.

This piece was likewise translated into French by Mr. Coste, and the two *Vindications* also, which were printed at Amsterdam, in 1703, in 8vo. The whole was reprinted there in 1715, in two volumes, 12mo.

In this edition, a great many repetitions, which are frequent in our author's style, are retrenched by the translator, who has also added two dissertations by another hand; one concerning, *The true and only Means of reuniting all Christians, notwithstanding their Differences in Opinion*; and the other, concerning *The Religion of a Lady*.

What reception this piece met with at its first appearance, our author himself will inform us, in a Letter to Mr. Limborch; where he acquaints

acquaints that divine, that the clergy of all parties were offended with it. "*Theologia nostris tam conformistis quam nonconformistis displicere audio,*" His professed design extends no farther, than to convert the Deists to Christianity, by shewing them, that, in order to become Christians, nothing more was necessary, than to believe Jesus to be the Messiah: but, as he acknowledges that this design unavoidably led him to consider several other points, as, particularly, the doctrine of original sin, and the mediatorial office of Christ; so, in explaining these, he expressed himself in such a manner, as brought him into the suspicion of Socinianism; which, even Mr. Limborch, and other friends of our author in Holland, confessed, in effect, he had given too much reason for it.

But this doctrine of our author's had likewise its abettors; among whom was Mr. Samuel Bold, rector of Steeple, in Dorsetshire; who, in 1697, published a piece, in 8vo, intituled, *The Knowledge of Christ Jesus*. To which are added, *Some Passages in the Reasonableness of Christianity, and its Vindication*; with some *Animadversions on Mr. Edwards's Reflections on the Reasonableness of Christianity*; and on his book intituled, *Socinianism Unmasked*.

This writer having intimated our author's design to unite all Christians into one compact body, recommends it in the warmest terms,  
not

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not without passing a severe censure upon all its opposers.

“ In short,” says he, “ if the Reasonableness of Christianity, as delivered in the Scriptures, doth merit no worse a character on any other account, than it doth justly deserve because it advanceth and so fully proveth this point, that Christ and his apostles did not propound any article as necessary to be believed, to make a man a Christian, but this, That Jesus is the Christ, or Messias ; I think it may be reputed one of the best books that hath been published for at least sixteen hundred years.”

This book, however, being attacked, in 1696, as we have already hinted, by Mr. Edwards, in his Socinian Unmasked, Mr. Locke wrote two Vindications of his doctrine against that author's charge the same year ; and was scarcely disengaged from this controversy before he entered into another on the following occasion.

Mr. Toland, in his Christianity not mysterious, and several treatises being published at the same time by the Unitarians, maintaining, that there was nothing in the Christian religion but what was clearly intelligible, Dr. Stillingfleet, in 1697, published A Defence of the Doctrine of the Trinity ; wherein he censured some passages in the just mentioned Essay

as tending to subvert the fundamental articles of Christianity. An answer to this charge was immediately wrote by our author; to which the bishop replied; and the controversy was carried on the following year, 1698, when it ended by the death of the latter.

This dispute consists of five letters, two by the bishop and three by our author. In the last of which, besides other incident matters, he explains at large his sentiments concerning certainty by reason, certainty by ideas, and certainty of faith; the resurrection of the same body, and the immortality of the soul; shews the consistency of his opinion in these points with the articles of faith; and clears himself from the charge of scepticism.

Mr. Des Maizeaux, from whom we borrow this, observes that Mr. Locke was generally allowed to have had the better of the bishop in the dispute, who had not considered these points so thoroughly as his antagonist. However that be, 'tis certain, that an abstract of this dispute being published in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, it came thereby to Mr. Bayle, who soon after expressed himself of the same opinion, that is, as to the arguments produced by each in proof of the points in dispute; but this must be carefully distinguished from the real truth of those points, with regard to some of these, at least, for instance, the immortality of the soul. In the explanation of which, Mr. Locke had

asserted the possibility of matters thinking, and at the same time allowed the incomprehensibility of it.

Mr. Bayle having made his own use of that concession, proceeds to observe, that the question, Whether the soul of man is distinct from matter? makes a part of the famous dispute between Dr. Stillingfleet and Mr. Locke. The first maintained, that matter is incapable of thought, and thereby became the defender of a fundamental article of philosophical orthodoxy. He made use of this argument among others, that we cannot conceive how matter can think. Mr. Locke admits this principle to be true, and contents himself with denying the consequence; for he asserts, that God can do things which are incomprehensible to human understanding. He then proceeds to give our author's reasoning upon this principle, and proceeds thus.

Here is a formal confession of the incomprehensibility of the thing, and a recourse to the extent of God's power with regard to effects which are beyond the limits of our understanding.

It is much after the same manner, continues he, ridiculing the argument, that the schoolmen suppose there is in creatures an obediential power, by which God might raise them, if he pleased, to any state whatever: a stone might become capable of the beatific vision, and a drop of water might become capable of washing

washing away all the pollution of original sin. Take notice, that, to refute this obediential power in matter with respect to knowledge, we may urge a proof which it does not appear Dr. Stillingfleet has made use of.

It has always seemed to me very proper to shew the impossibility of joining together the three dimensions and thought in the same subject. You will find the substance of this proof in the books which I cite. To pursue that argument, would carry us much beyond the limits which we have set to this remark, especially as it would lead us unavoidably to examine another notion imputed to Mr. Locke among others, concerning the manner of God's omnipresence, by a diffusion of his substance. We shall content ourselves at present with observing, that the unphilosophicalness, as well as absurdity, of seeking recourse in God's omnipotence for the possibility of thoughts being superadded to some systems of matter properly disposed, has been sufficiently evinced by Dr. Clarke. But there is another point in this subject, which we ought not to omit.

In the third letter to the bishop now under consideration, our author particularly insults his lordship, who asserting that 'it takes off very much from the evidence of immortality, if it depends wholly upon God's giving that, which, of its own nature, it is not capable of.' "This," says our author, "I could not have imagined to find in a book written in

defence of the mystery of the Holy Trinity ;” and then makes the following reply. “ Any one’s not being able to demonstrate the soul to be immaterial, takes off not very much, nor at all, from the evidence of its immortality, if God has revealed that it shall be immortal, because the veracity of God is a demonstration of the truth of what he has revealed ; and, in a clear demonstration, there is as much evidence as any truth can have that is not self evident.”

Here the sophism is notorious, in calling scripture-proof a demonstration, which is not pretended to rise above a moral certainty, or a sufficient probability ; and therefore it undoubtedly admits of degrees, and must needs be less, where there is no internal evidence from the nature of the thing.

Upon this account, we see, St. Paul did not think it enough barely to declare the resurrection and immortality of the body, but took pains to inforce the credibility of it, by an argument drawn from the analogy of nature ; whereas, that of the soul is rather supposed than proved, wherever its condition of happiness or misery in that state is explained.

This was the last time our author employed the press. The asthma, to which he had been long subject, increasing with his years, began now to subdue his constitution, and rendered him very infirm ; and, in 1700, he resigned his seat at the board of trade, because he could

no longer bear the air of London on account of that disorder.

From this time he continued altogether at Oates, in which agreeable retirement, he employed the remaining last years of his life entirely in the study of the Holy Scriptures. His strength began to fail more remarkably than it had done at the entrance of the summer before his death, a season, which, in former years, had always restored him some degrees of strength.

This made him so very sensible of his approaching dissolution, that, though he neglected none of those means which his skill in physic had taught him to prolong his life, yet this was done without calling in any other assistance. At length his legs began to swell, and that symptom daily increasing, his strength diminished very visibly. He had often before this spoken of his departure, and always with great composure; and now plainly discerning how short a time he had to live, he prepared to quit the world.

As he was incapable for a considerable time of going to church, he thought proper to receive the Sacrament at home; and two of his friends communicating with him, as soon as the office was finished he told the minister, that he was in the sentiments of perfect charity towards all men, and of a sincere union with the church of Christ under whatever name distinguished.



He lived some months after this ; which time he spent in acts of piety and devotion ; and, the day before his death, lady Masham being alone with him, and sitting by his bed-side, he exhorted her to regard this world only as a state of preparation for a better ; adding, that he had lived long enough, and thanked God for having passed his life so happily.

He had no sleep that night, and resolved to try to rise the next morning, as he did ; and, being carried into his study, he was placed in an easy chair, where he slept a considerable while at different times ; and seeming to be a little refreshed, he would be dressed as he used to be ; and then desired the lady Masham, who was reading the Psalms low while he was dressing, to read aloud. She did so ; and he appeared very attentive, till, feeling the approach of death, he begged of her ladyship to break off, and in a few minutes expired, on the twenty-eighth of October, 1704, in the seventy-third year of his age.

He was interred in the church of Oates, where there is a decent monument erected to his memory, with an inscription, in Latin, wrote by himself, containing all he thought proper to leave concerning his character ; but a more particular one was first published by Mr. Peter Coste, whom we have frequently mentioned ; he had known him long, and, some few years before he died, had lived with him as amanuensis. This his Character was  
afterwards

afterwards republished by Mr. Des Maizeaux. Some particulars of this have already been taken notice of in the course of this Memoir ; but, as many others were afterwards contradicted by Mr. Coste himself, to insert the whole would be to abuse the reader. We shall therefore lay before him only such parts as we apprehend to have been least controverted ; which are as follow :

“ Mr. Locke had great knowledge of the world, and of the business of it. He won people’s esteem by his probity ; his wisdom, his experience, his gentle and obliging manners, gained him the respect of his inferiors, the esteem of his equals, the friendship and confidence of those of the highest quality. He was at first, pretty much disposed to give advice, where he thought it was wanted ; but experience of the little effect it had, made him grow more reserved. In conversation, he was most inclined to the useful and serious turn ; but, when occasion naturally offered, he gave into the free and facetious with pleasure, and, was master of a great many entertaining stories, which he always introduced properly, and told naturally ; nor was he any enemy to raillery when delicate and innocent.

“ He loved to talk with mechanics in their own way ; and used to say, That the knowledge of the arts contained more true philosophy than learned hypotheses. By putting

questions to artificers, he would sometimes find out a secret in their art, not well understood by themselves; and by that means give them views entirely new, which they put in practice to their profit.

“ He was so far from affecting any airs of studied gravity, that he would sometimes divert himself with imitating it, in order to ridicule it with better success. Upon these occasions, he always remembered this maxim of Rochefaucault, which he admired above all others, ‘ That gravity is a mystery of the body, in order to conceal the defects of the mind.’

“ One thing (continues Mr. Coste) which those who lived any time with Mr. Locke could not help observing in him, was, that he took delight in making use of his reason in every thing he did; and nothing that was attended with any usefulness seemed unworthy of his care; so that we may say of him what was said of queen Elizabeth, that he was no less capable of small things than of great. He often used to say himself, That there was an art in every thing; and it was easy to be convinced of it, to see the manner in which he went about the most trifling thing he did, and always with some good reason.”

But the highest eulogium upon him was that of the late queen Caroline, who, on having erected a pavilion in honour of philosophy,  
placed

placed therein our author's bust, on a level with Bacon, Newton, and Clarke, as the four prime English philosophers.

In the latter end of his life, he contracted a friendship with Anthony Collins, esq. and left him a remarkable letter to be delivered after his death. It was dated August 25, 1704, and directed,

“ For Anthony Collins, esq. to be delivered after my decease.

Dear

“ BY my Will you will see, that I had some kindness for ———; and I know no better way to take care of him, than to put him, and what I designed for him, into your hands and management.

“ The knowledge I have of your virtue of all kinds, secures the trust which, by your permission, I have placed in you; and the peculiar esteem and love I have observed in the young man for you, will dispose him to be ruled and influenced by you; so that of that I need say nothing. But there is one thing which it is necessary for me to recommend to your especial care and memory, ———

“ May you live long and happy in the enjoyment of health, freedom, content, and all those blessings which Providence has bestowed on you.

and your virtue intitles you to. You loved me living, and will preserve my memory now I am dead. All the use to be made of it is, that, This Life is a Scene of Vanity, that soon passes away, and affords no Solid Satisfaction, but in the Consciousness of doing well, and in the Hopes of another Life. This is what I can say, upon Experience, what you will find to be true when you come to make up the account.

“ Adieu.

“ I leave my best wishes with you.

, “ JOHN LOCKE.”

The latter part of this letter, viz. May you live long, &c. was printed by Mr. Whiston in the postscript to his Reflections on an anonymous pamphlet, intitled, *A Discourse of Free-thinking*, in 1713, 8vo. and against the end of his List of Suppositions and Assertions in the late Discourse of the Grounds and Reason of the Christian Religion, which are not therein supported by any real and authentic evidence, for which some such evidence is expected to be produced. London, 1724, 8vo. Mr. Whiston's design is to confront Mr. Collins with the testimony of his friend in favour of Revealed Religion.

In the same spirit Mr. Warburton, who does nothing by halves, reproaches Mr. Collins

lins with the first part, but lord Shaftesbury with the latter part, of this their friend's letter.

"Mr. Locke," says he in an address to the Free-thinkers, "the glory of this age, and the blessing of futurity, shews us, in the treatment he received from his friend and his pupil, what a believer is to expect from you. It was enough to provoke their spleen, that he had shewn the reasonableness of Christianity, and had placed all his hopes of happiness in another life. The intimacy between him and Mr. Collins is well known. Mr. Collins appears to have idolized Mr. Locke while living, and Mr. Locke was convinced Mr. Collins would preserve his memory when dead. But no sooner was he gone, than Mr. Collins publicly insulted a notion of his concerning the possibility of conceiving how matter might first be made and begin to be; and goes affectedly out of his way to do it. The noble author of the Characteristics had received part of his education from this great philosopher; and it must be owned, that this lord had many excellent qualities, both as a man and as a writer. He was temperate, chaste, honest, and a lover of his country. In his writings he has shewn, how largely he had imbibed the deep sense, and how naturally he could copy the graceful manner, of Plato. How far Mr. Locke had contributed to the cultivating of these good

qualities I will not enquire ; but that inveterate rancour with which he indulged Christianity, it is certain he had not from him. It was Mr. Locke's love of him, that seems chiefly to expose him to his pupil's bitterest insults. One of the most precious remains of the true piety of this incomparable man are his last words to Mr. Collins."

He then transcribes the latter part of the just cited letter, and proceeds in these terms."

" One would imagine, that, if ever the parting breath of pious men, or the last precepts of dying philosophers could claim the reverence of their survivors, this inestimable monument of friendship and religion had been secure from outrage ; yet hear in how unworthy, how cruel a manner his noble disciple apostrophizes him on this occasion.

" Philosopher, let me hear, concerning life, what the right notion is; and what I am to stand to upon occasion ; that I may not, when life seems retiring, or has run itself out to the very dregs, cry Vanity ! condemn the world, and at the same time complain, That life is short and passing ; for why so short, indeed, if not sound sweet ? Why do I complain both ways ? Is vanity, meer vanity, a happiness ? or, Can misery pass away too soon ?" *Characteristicks*, Vol I. p. 302. 3d edit.

" I will

“ I will leave the strong reflections that naturally arise from hence to the reader, who, I am sure, will be before hand with me in judging, that Mr. Locke had reason to condemn a world that afforded such a pupil.”

The Posthumous Works of our author are so well known, that we think it quite unnecessary to mention them.





THE LIFE OF  
JOHN CAMPBEL.

**J**OHN CAMPBEL, duke of Argyle, was born on the tenth of October, 1678; and, the very day his grandfather suffered at Edinburgh, fell out of a window three pair of stairs high, without receiving any hurt.

He early discovered a solid, penetrating judgment, and ready wit; but soon taking a liking to the army, he did not plunge so far into the depth of science as he might otherwise have done, though, before he was fifteen, he had made a great progress in classical learning, and some branches of philosophy: but, when he came to riper years, he retrieved what he had not attended to so strictly in his youth; by reading the best authors, with the knowledge of mankind he had acquired by being early engaged in affairs of the greatest importance, he was enabled to give that lustre to his natural parts, which shone forth on so many occasions.

In 1694, when not full seventeen years of age, king William gave him the command of a regiment.

His





*J. D. Argyll. sculp.*  
John Duke of Argyll.

## JOHN CAMPBELL. 183

His father, the first duke of Argyle, dying in 1703, his grace was soon after sworn of his majesty's privy-council, appointed captain of the Scotch horse-guards, and one of the extraordinary lords of session.

In 1704, he was installed one of the knights of the Thistle; and, in 1705, his grace was made a peer of England, by the title of baron of Chatham, and earl of Greenwich.

At the battle of Ramillies, in 1706, his grace assisted as brigadier-general; and, tho' but a young man, gave signal proofs of his valour and conduct. He also commanded at the siege of Ostend, as brigadier-general; and in the same station at that of Menin; and was in the action of Oudenard, in 1708. At the siege of Ghent, in the same year, he commanded as major-general, and took possession of the town.

In 1709, at the siege of Tournay, which was carried on by three attacks, he commanded one of them, in quality of lieutenant general, which he had been appointed in April before. At the bloody battle of Malplaquet, the same year, the duke of Argyle was ordered to dislodge the enemy from the wood of Sart: which he executed with great bravery and resolution, pierced through it, and gained a considerable post; but narrowly escaped, having several musquet-balls through his cloaths, hat, and perriwig.

In 1711, he was appointed ambassador-extraordinary to king Charles III. of Spain, and  
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generalissimo of the British forces in that kingdom.

On the eighth of September, 1712, the cessation of arms between Great-Britain and France, was notified to the imperial general; upon which the duke of Argyle sailed with the English troops to Portmahon; where, when he arrived, he caused the emperor's colours to be taken down, and the British to be hoisted on the several castles of that island; the governor refusing to take an oath of fidelity to her majesty, had leave to retire; but the rest of the magistrates complied.

After his grace's return into England, he did not remain long in the favour of the ministry, and heartily joined in opposing all secret intrigues against the protestant succession; and, in 1713-14, on the fourth of March, the duke was deprived of all the employments he had under the crown.

He must now return back to the civil employments of his grace. In 1705, the ministry being very desirous of an union between the two kingdoms, his grace was appointed her majesty's high-commissioner to the next session of the Scotch parliament.

In 1713, his grace made a speech in the house of lords, for dissolving the union, occasioned by a malt-bill being brought into the house for Scotland; which was carried in the negative by four voices only.

In 1715, the duke was made general of the forces against the rebels; and went to Edinburgh,

burgh, where he published a proclamation for increasing the forces; from whence he marched to Leith, and summoned the citadel, into which Brig. M'Intosh had retired, to surrender; but, upon M'Intosh sending answer, that he was determined to hold out, and neither to give nor take quarter, if they engaged, the duke, who could not carry the place for want of artillery, thought proper to retire, and return to Edinburgh.

I shall not enter into the particulars of this rebellion; during the course of which, his grace exerted himself in the most proper manner, against the enemies of his majesty king George and the protestant succession; and, after having put the army into winter-quarters, he returned to London, and arrived there on the sixth of March, and was most graciously received by his majesty; but, in a few months, to the surprize of all mankind, he was turned out of all his places; the reason for which is not to be assigned, without it was his grace's merciful disposition. But the prince of Wales was pleased to express an esteem for him which continued many years, both while he was under the displeasure of his majesty and after the reconciliation.

But to go back to his grace's conduct in parliament. In June, 1715, when the famous schism bill was brought into the house of lords, he opposed it with great zeal and strength of argument. In the debate on the mutiny-bill, he

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he opposed any extension of the military power and urged the reduction of forces.

In the beginning of 1718-19, his <sup>grace</sup> was again admitted into his majesty's favour, who was pleased to appoint him lord-steward of his household, and to create him duke of Greenwich.

On this occasion the following compliment was made him by the reverend Mr. James Ward; which, as it will shew the high esteem he was held in by all ranks of people at the time, we shall insert.

Mindless of fate, in these low vile abodes,  
Tyrants have oft usurp'd the name of Gods :  
But, that the Mortal might be thought Divine,  
The Herald strait new-modell'd all his line ;  
And venal priests, with well-dissembled lye,  
Preambled to the crowd the mimic Deity.

Not so great Saturn's son, imperial Jove,  
He reigns, unquestion'd, in his realms above;  
No title from Descent He need infer,  
His red right arm proclaims the Thunderer.

This, Campbel, be thy pride, illustrious  
peer !

Alike to shine distinguish'd in your sphere :  
All Merit but Your Own You may disdain,  
And Kings have been your Ancestors in vain.

When

When the affair of captain Porteous was debated in the house of lords, he stood up zealously in defence of the liberties of the city of Edinburgh. In 1739, when the convention of Spain was brought before the house, for their approbation, he spoke with warmth against it, and in the same session opposed a vote of credit, as there was no limited sum in the message sent by his majesty.

On the fifteenth of April, 1740, the house took into consideration the state of the nation; upon which occasion his grace made a set speech; wherein he laid forth, with great strength of argument, the misconduct of the ministry, shewing a tender regard for the person of his sovereign, while he exerted an unfeigned zeal for the good of the community.—Soon after his grace was dismissed from all his employments.

Upon the election of a new parliament, on the application of the city of Edinburgh, and several corporations, who addressed him in form at that time, he pointed out to them, men of steady, honest, and loyal principles, and independent fortunes; and, where he had any interest, he endeavoured to prevail with the electors to chuse such men.

When the parliament was opened, the minister found he had not influence to maintain his ground; and a parliamentary enquiry into his conduct was set on foot; he was discharged his peer, and created a peer, with the title of earl of Orford.



The duke, who was now become the darling of the people, was restored to all his places; but, in a few months afterwards, finding that the same measures were going to be pursued as before, he resigned them all again. From this time he lived retired, and affected privacy.

His grace had been, for many years, seized with a paralytic disorder, which now encreased, and he lingered on till the third of September, 1743, when he departed this life.

His grace married, when young, Mary, daughter of John Brown, esq. and niece of sir Charles Duncomb, lord-mayor of London; but she dying in 1708, without issue, he married Jane, daughter of Thomas Warburton, of Winnington, in Cheshire, esq. By her he had four daughters; the eldest of which married the earl of Dalkeith, son and heir-apparent to the duke of Buccleugh; and the second to the earl of Strafford; both in his life-time.

His grace was a tender father, and an indulgent master; was delicate in the choice of his friends, but when chosen, very constant to them; he was slow of promising favours; but when promised, the performance was sure; though he often chose rather to purchase preferment for his relations than ask it.

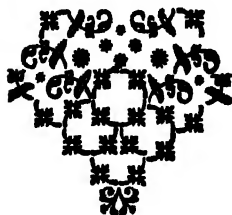
He was naturally compassionate to all mankind; and, when he met the man of merit in want, his bounty was very extensive; nor could

would he keep the man he was either unable or unwilling to serve in suspense.

He preserved a dignity in his behaviour which was often wrongfully mistook for pride; but he was naturally facetious, which he gave way to amongst his select friends.

There has been a noble monument erected in Westminster-abbey to his memory, Sir William Fermor, while his grace was living, having left five hundred pounds to defray the expence of it, out of the regard he had for that great general and true patriot.

END OF THE TENTH VOLUME.





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